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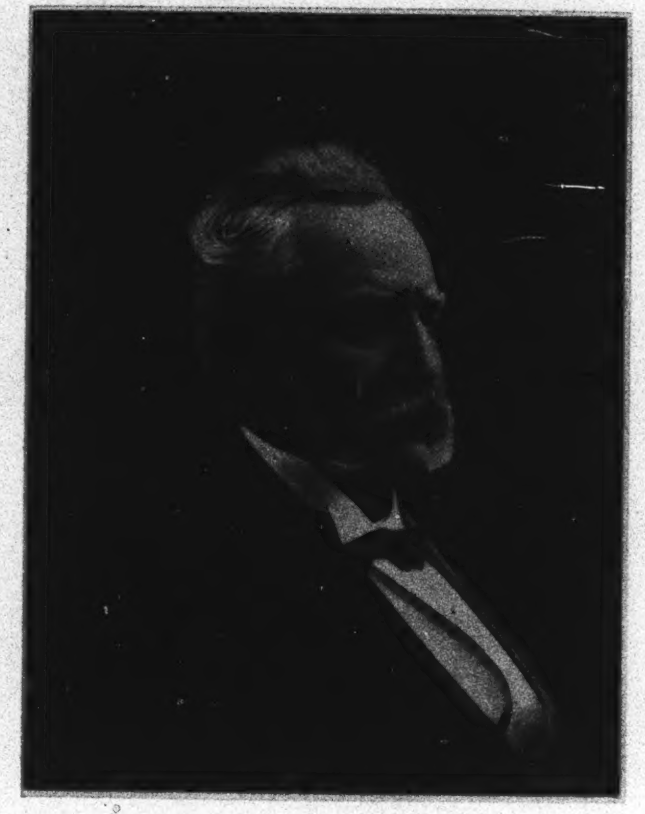

Very truly
your friend
G R Smith

LIFE OF

GEORGE R. SMITH

FOUNDER OF SEDALIA, MO.

IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND
SOCIAL LIFE OF SOUTHWESTERN MISSOURI,
BEFORE AND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By
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SEDALIA, MO.
PRIVATELY PRINTED
1904

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MRS. M. E. SMITH and MRS. S. E. COTTON

To

THE UNION MEN OF THE SOUTH

This Book is Dedicated

By the Daughters of One of their Number

In honor of those heroes who, in the hour of the Nation's peril, rose above the influence of environment and lineage, and were true to their national duty

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PREFACE

The preparation of this work was undertaken by the author at the request of Mrs. M. E. Smith and Mrs. S. E. Cotton, daughters of General Smith. What value it has as a picture of the community and times with which it deals is largely due to the loving insight and literary skill with which they have set down their own memories of those vanished days, and to the patient care with which, during more than a score of years, they have preserved and accumulated materials for this biography. "This object," wrote Mrs. Smith, "has been constantly in our hearts since our father's death. When an edifice is built, the corner-stone that lies hidden in the darkness is equally important with the spire that pierces the heavens; so also with the structure of the society and government of a community, with the culture of a people, with the Christian manhood of its citizens. Whatever humble part his life contributed, we desire to record,—plainly, for we can do it in no other way; truthfully, for he would scorn any other." This is the spirit in which the book was conceived, and this is the spirit in which it has been executed. It is hoped that the result will be found not merely a monument of filial piety, but a history of some value as a record of the growth and action of American life and character amid scenes that have now passed away.

That this hope is not wholly unwarranted, is evidenced by the testimony of competent authorities. In a letter dated September 18, 1894, the perusal of which had much to do with the present author's undertaking his task, Dr. Edward Everett Hale wrote: "Say to any gentleman whom you see, that I have looked over these papers with much interest. Say that I was myself engaged in the affairs of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas before the war, so that I knew already something of the very remarkable circumstances which surrounded your father's life. Say that, if I were twenty-five years younger, I should certainly undertake such a book as you propose myself, and that I consider that there are materials here for preparing a very instructive and entertaining chapter of American history, which ought to be written."

Judge Albion W. Tourgée, after looking through the papers collected for this biography, wrote October 21, 1894: "I want to thank you for introducing me to your father, his struggles and his time. . . . It is a fine, strong, unique life, cast in a mold of circumstance as rare and exceptional as itself. I am glad of these things,—first, that it was strong and rough; second, that it was bloodless; third, that he was not a political success; fourth that he was good enough to be admirable, and not good enough to awaken doubt as to his verity. I like men; I am not fond of marvels."

Under date of February 8, 1901, after having examined the manuscript of this biography, Dr. Hale wrote again: "I am much more interested in the memorial than I could have thought possible. The ground which it covers seems to me of great importance, and I am glad that Mr. Harding has not shirked the extreme difficulty of working out the early chapters. . . . He has made what seems to me a very valuable contribution to the history of our country, on lines which historians generally shirk."

And Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, after reading carefully this manuscript, wrote March 15, 1901: "I agree with those ladies that it is every way desirable 'that each locality should have its history written, especially in its development from embryonic conditions'; and it is this feature of the book, after its illustrations of a heroic but practical character, which is specially to be praised. Few of this century can appreciate the state of society that existed even in the older States seventy-five years ago; and still fewer can understand the primitive conditions under which Jefferson's grand acquisition of unlimited Louisiana was added to the realm of civilization. This volume gives details of that condition, and carries along the story of the process, up to the end of the century in which Jefferson's ever-germinating influence more and more prevailed. . . . The tragedy at which our generation, and that earlier one of General Smith assisted, culminated in the renascence, not the fall, of a glorious State, and this glorious Missourian had no small share in the new birth of Liberty, east and west of the great rivers in Jefferson's Louisiana. The political vicissitudes that preceded our Revolution of 1861—no less important for the cause of Freedom than the Revolution of 1775—are in this volume dwelt upon with more detail than might seem necessary to a New England reader. But considering how little is known by us of the critical struggle in Missouri through 1861 and the years immediately preceding, and how partial and misleading is the story told by Lucien Carr in his *Missouri* and by Leverett Spring in his *Kansas,*—both volumes in the 'American Commonwealth Series,'—these tell-tale letters and speeches will not be thought too much."

In conclusion the author wishes, in his own behalf and that of General Smith's daughters, to make acknowledgment of favors received from the Public and Mercantile Libraries of St. Louis, from the Adjutant-General's office at Jefferson City, and from the Hon. A. A. Lesuer, Secretary of State of Missouri, who furnished him with copies of several journals of the General Assembly and of the Constitutional Convention of 1861. Many of the materials used in this biography were collected by the late Mr. Bacon Montgomery, and Mr. I. Mac. Demuth, both of Sedalia; and a number of General Smith's former friends and associates furnished sketches or information for this work. Finally, public thanks should be returned to Dr. Hale and to Judge Tourgée for suggestions and advice generously given Mesdames Smith and Cotton, and to Mr. F. B. Sanborn for a helpful revision of the manuscript.

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA,
November 5, 1904.

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LIFE OF
GEORGE R. SMITH

CHAPTER I

YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD: LIFE IN KENTUCKY

(1804—1833)

Ancestry—Birth, and removal to Kentucky—Death of his mother—His early years—Schooling—Influence of Elder Barton W. Stone—Origin of his anti-slavery views—Death of his father, after freeing his slaves—Studies law—Deputy Sheriff—Marries—His children—Loss by bank's failure—Resolve to move to Missouri.

George Rappeen Smith, founder of the city of Sedalia, Mo., was born August 17, 1804, in Powhatan county, Virginia. Of his maternal ancestry but little is known beyond the fact that his mother, Sally Heydon, was born September 3, 1777, of Ezekiel and Sarah Heydon, and that she was the second wife of Mr. Smith's father, who was her second husband. Of the paternal ancestry and early years of Mr. Smith the following account is given by his daughter, Mrs. M. E. Smith:

Our father was the fourth in immediate lineal descent from George Smith,—the first of the family of whom we have any authentic record,—who settled in Powhatan county, Virginia, some time early in the eighteenth century. It is said by the accounts from which we get information that he emigrated in his boyhood from his home in the eastern part of the colony, and that he amassed a considerable fortune in lands and negroes.

Thomas, the only known son of George and Ann Smith, was born December 29, 1719, and died September 25, 1786, aged sixty-six years and nine months; he succeeded to his father's estate and spent his entire lifetime at the homestead in Powhatan county. Thomas was the father of six children, having three times married, a son and a daughter being the fruit of each union. The youngest son was named James; the two older sons were each named George: the one was called George Stovall Smith, and the other (our grandfather) was known among his friends and associates as "Mill-pond George," from the fact that his father's home was located near a large pond known as "the mill-pond." He was born March 15, 1747, and died August 9, 1820, aged 73 years and 5 months.

When the Baptists first preached in that neighborhood the two older sons were among the converts to the new faith. When the Methodists followed at a somewhat later period, the remaining members of the family were among the first fruits of their preaching. The father, who had been an adherent of the church of England, now became a zealous supporter of the doctrines of Methodism, and the conference of 1780 was held at his house. James, the youngest son, became a Methodist minister, and attained considerable eminence among that people for his eloquence and piety.

The two older sons, meanwhile, had become exhorters and ministers to the Baptist faith. In 1780 George Stovall Smith moved from Virginia to Jessamine county, Kentucky, where he assumed the care of a church. Five years later he was visited by his brothers George and James, and the visit was repeated by James in 1795, and by both brothers in 1797. Interesting journals of the scenes and incidents of these trips to Kentucky and back were kept by both George and James Smith. The journal of the former was destroyed by fire after the removal of his son to Missouri, but the journal of the latter is still in existence. Mention in it is made of the sermons preached by the reverend travelers at different points along the way; it records much friendly controversy touching religious differences between the two, but in every page it glows with expressions of fervent piety and brotherly love.

George Smith, our grandfather, succeeded to the care of Powhatan (Baptist) church in 1784, upon the removal of the former pastor to Kentucky. He also became pastor of Skinquarter and Tomahawk churches in Chesterfield county. These continued under his ministry until 1804, when he removed to Kentucky, after having previously visited that country, according to our accounts, ten times. He first stopped in Woodford county, but shortly afterwards bought land in Franklin county and removed there. Here he was separated from William Hickman, his old friend and yoke-fellow in the church, only by Elkhorn creek. In their younger days the two had been knit together in soul, like David and Jonathan; and thenceforth the two old veterans of the Cross lived together like brothers indeed until they were separated by death. At the time when grandfather Smith arrived in Kentucky there was much excitement about the slavery question. He warmly espoused the anti-slavery side and gave his full strength to its advocacy. This made him somewhat unpopular among the Kentucky churches; but he continued to preach from time to time.

Our grandfather Smith, like his father, was married three times. His first wife was Judith Guerrant, daughter of Peter and Magdalene Guerrant (born October 17, 1745; married October 20, 1765; died July 4, 1801), by whom he had two children—Mary Ann (born April 16, 1767; married to William Forsee, September 20, 1783; died January 1, 1806, aged 38 years) and Esther (born April 19, 1768; married to James Martin, September 22, 1785; died November 28, 1808, aged 40 years, 7 months). Our father, the only son of our grandfather, was the child of the second wife, Sally Heydon, to whom he was married March 31, 1803. She died December 5, 1804; and on December 10, 1805, he married Elizabeth Dupuy, the widow of James Fogg (daughter of Bartholomew and Mary Dupuy; born August 31, 1766; married to James Fogg, December 11, 1799). A daughter, Martha Ann, whose short life came to an end in less than two years, was the sole fruit of this union.

Our father was born at the old home in Virginia on August 17, 1804, and was christened George Rappeen (or Rapin) Smith. Within a few weeks after this event the family started on their journey to Kentucky. The rough roads occasioning severe jolting to the occupants of the wagons, the kind-hearted old negro nurse of the infant volunteered to carry him in a basket. The mother of the babe did not survive the establishing of the new home in the West. At the tender age of four months the child was left motherless, and was then transferred to the care of his half-sister Esther, wife of Mr. James Martin, who, having a son of about the same age, became his foster mother. In the latter part of the same year, this sister with her family moved to the adjoining county of Woodford, taking the babe with them; and there he remained until the death of Mrs. Martin, about three years later. In the meantime the Rev. George Smith married his third wife, and after the death of Mrs. Martin the child was again taken to the home of his father.

In the active and healthy life of a pioneer Kentucky homestead were laid the foundations for the physical stature, the robust frame, and the mental vigor of a stalwart manhood. Of schooling the boy was given all that his time and the locality could offer. His father, a man of strong and liberal mind, possessed intellectual attainments of a superior order, and doubtless gave personal attention to his son's education. The work of the father was supplemented by a school in the vicinity; but when we remember the nature of the education given in even the best of the rural schools of this epoch, it will be evident that stress must not be laid on this factor. Importance, also, should not be attached to the advantages offered by the "old-field school," kept by Thomas Henderson at Great Crossing, in Scott county, to which the lad was sent when he had outgrown the meager facilities of the school nearer home. It was from the next school to which he was sent—that at Georgetown, the county seat of Scott county—that his education was most largely derived.

The master of this school, Elder Barton W. Stone, was a man of noble character and liberal views, whose influence at that time was very marked in the intellectual and religious life of central Kentucky. Born in Maryland, graduated from a famous academy at Guilford, North Carolina, he had taught for awhile in a Georgia college (or academy), and had then entered the Presbyterian ministry, and had become pastor of the churches at Caneridge and Concord, Kentucky. Not long after, he was caught up by the waves of a movement which was then causing an upheaval of religious thought in many of the Southern and Middle States. This was the revolt against the dogmas of Calvinism, which had set in with the closing decade of the eighteenth century, and which ultimately resulted in the formation of the Christian denomination, or "Church of the Disciples." Stone joined in this movement and became leader of one branch of it; and when the liberalizing clergy of Kentucky were condemned by the Lexington synod, in 1803, Elder Stone seceded with them from the Presbyterian church. The revolt, once on foot, spread rapidly, and many new churches were founded by him and his co-workers in Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. After the secession, Stone refused to receive pay for his ministrations, and for a livelihood he again turned to teaching—a work for which he had much aptitude—and established his academy at Georgetown, Kentucky.

It was to this school that young Smith was sent, in 1818, soon after he had attained his fourteenth year. There he gained a fair knowledge of mathematics, Latin, and similar studies. More important, however, than the knowledge which he gained from his instructors was the influence of the latter in shaping his character and emphasizing the religious training already received from his father and his earlier environment; it was to the forces brought to bear in this formative period of his life that Mr. Smith owed some of the impressions which subsequently ripened into the strongest convictions of his character. The seed sown in the heart of the boy in his teens matured in after life into an unswerving faith in that interpretation of the Scriptures taught by his revered teacher, and he deemed it one of the greatest privileges of his life that he had been under the instruction of Barton W. Stone.

An anecdote told by one of Smith's old schoolfellows will illustrate the character of the boy and at the same time the influence of the master. Young Smith was then, as always, of an eager and impetuous temper, ever ready to champion the cause of those whom he considered ill used. The result was that he had his full share of rough and tumble fisticuffs. After one such encounter Smith and his antagonist were found to be considerably bruised and scratched about their faces; and when they returned to "books" at the close of the recess period, Elder Stone "called them up, and looking first at one face and then at the other, lectured them most affectionately, the tears flowing from the old man's eyes. Presently [continues this informant] George began to sob; and the boys shook hands and made friends.

After dismission George was asked why he cried. 'How could I help it?' he exclaimed; 'I be hanged if I wouldn't rather take a whipping than to have that good old man preach to me and cry.'" (Letter of Jno. Allen Gano, Sr., of Georgetown, Ky., July 16, 1881.)

It was during this formative period, also, that the basis was laid in the boy's mind of those anti-slavery principles which found expression in his later life. The elder Smith, like his brother James (who had emancipated his slaves in 1798, before emigrating to Ohio) was a strong opponent of slavery, and had already determined to give his negroes their liberty at the first fitting opportunity. At his home, men of similar views often assembled and discussed the important subject of slavery. Ashland, the home of Henry Clay, lay in Fayette county, near by, and the well-known advocacy by this great statesman of a policy of gradual emancipation doubtless served to confirm the impressions made upon the mind of the youth by the discussions in his father's house. Not without its influence in this direction, too, was the teaching and example of Elder Stone himself. The latter's hatred of slavery had been imbibed many years before among the South Carolina plantations; and his practice was shown to be in harmony with his preaching by the voluntary acceptance of a legacy of slaves from his mother's estate, in place of one of money, in order that he might transport them to Kentucky and set them free. In the influences that surrounded the boy may be found the germ of much of the action of the man in later years.

In 1820, when George R. Smith had been under the charge of Elder Stone for about two years, the boy was called home by the dangerous illness, followed by the death, of his father. The latter, apparently, had carried out his determination to free the most of his negroes, numbering about forty, some time before. When his will was opened it was found to contain the following provisions:

> Third. I give to my son, George R. Smith, forty-five shares of stock in the Bank of Kentucky, one thousand dollars in cash, the Franklin mare, my silver watch and silver spoons, to him and his heirs forever; and further I give and bequeath unto my son, George R. Smith, an equal share in my property that shall be sold, together with all my outlands that remain unsold, to him and his heirs forever. . . .
>
> Sixth. It is my wish that one hundred dollars in cash be paid to negro man Jack, and fifty dollars in cash to Molly, whom I set free some time past.

Annexed to the will was found a codicil of the same date, January 8, 1820, containing the following provisions:

> *Inprimis,* it is my will and desire that my negro man Cæsar be free on the eighth day of January, 1820. Secondly, it is my desire that my negro man Mose, and my negro girl Araminter also be free on the eighth day of January, 1820.

The "outlands" referred to above seem to have consisted chiefly of certain tracts of land which the father had located before removing to Kentucky. The title to these lands, however, was still in dispute, and had already occasioned some, as it was yet to give rise to more, litigation. The total inheritance of the young man may be estimated at about six thousand dollars. By the will his uncle Benjamin Davis, of Scott county, was made his guardian and curator, and with him he now made his home.

After his father's death (August 9, 1820), several years more were spent by the young man in the school of Elder Stone. When at last he left the care of that good man he continued his studies for a while at Frankfort, under the direction of Kane O'Hara, an Irish political exile and a member of a family of some poetic fame. There, in addition to other studies, young Smith began the study of law, which he continued until he had fitted himself for the bar.

When he had attained the age of twenty years he returned once more to the home of his uncle, and soon secured the appointment as deputy sheriff of Scott county. By a rather singular law in force in Kentucky at this time, the senior magistrate (there being usually about twenty magistrates to a county) was entitled to the honors and emoluments of the office of sheriff, the actual duties of the office being performed by deputy. It was by such an arrangement as this that Mr. Smith, before he had attained his twenty-second year, became practically sheriff of Scott county. The duties of this office were discharged to the satisfaction of all concerned; but when called upon to inflict capital punishment upon a condemned criminal, his kindness of heart led him to refuse personally to perform the duty, and a second term of the office was declined.

On April 24, 1827, Mr. Smith, then aged twenty-three, was married to Melita Ann Thomson, the daughter of his neighbor, General David Thomson. In 1828 a son, named David Thomson Smith after his maternal grandfather, was born to the young couple, but the child lived less than a year (June 28, 1828, to January 27, 1829). Two daughters—Martha Elizabeth (Mrs. M. E. Smith), born January 10, 1830, and Sarah Elvira (Mrs. S. E. Cotton), born October 1, 1831,—complete the offspring of the union.

His marriage profoundly affected the life of Mr. Smith, for it not only gave him domestic happiness, but it brought him into intimate relations with a man of strong and virile character and liberal views. General Thomson, the descendant of Scotch Anabaptists who had emigrated to America in 1717, was born at Richmond, Virginia, August 21, 1775. When his widowed mother removed to Kentucky, in 1789, he accompanied her and developed into one of the substantial men of central Kentucky. He purchased land in the neighborhood of Georgetown, Ky., and here, besides carrying on his farm, he built and operated with the labor of his negroes, "a merchant mill and paper mill." In politics he was an old-line Whig, and from 1811 to 1820 he was a member of the Kentucky State Senate. In October, 1793, he gained his first military experience as a volunteer under General Scott in a campaign against the Indians. From 1800 to 1820 he held various important positions in the Kentucky militia. At the battle of the River Thames in 1813, he commanded the second battalion of Richard M. Johnson's mounted regiment; later (January 21, 1814) he was promoted to the command of the Sixth brigade, and finally was made General for the Third Division of Kentucky militia. This was the man with whom Mr. Smith was now brought into intimate connections. He was pre-eminently a man of energy and experience in affairs, and his advice and example may have determined to a considerable degree the subsequent course of Mr. Smith's life.

In the midst of the happiness occasioned by his marriage came a blow which wiped out at a stroke a large part of Mr. Smith's estate, through the failure of the bank in which the inheritance left by his father was invested. The financial depression of 1828-29 proved too much for this institution, and after a period of weakness and decline, it finally suspended payments entirely, and every dollar of the amount invested was lost. The blow was a severe one; but the whole estate of the young couple was not involved in the ruin. General Thomson, in accordance with his custom, had settled upon his daughter, at her marriage, a sufficient portion in land, money, and negroes to enable them to start in life; and this, together with some portion of Mr.

Smith's own inheritance, was saved from the general wreck.

Soon after this time General Thomson and Mr. Smith arrived at a resolution which brings us to the next chapter of our story,—a resolution to remove with their families to the new State of Missouri.

CHAPTER II

REMOVAL TO MISSOURI: FOUNDING OF GEORGETOWN

(1833—1837)

The frontier in American history—Participation of Mr. Smith's ancestors in westward expansion—Decision to remove to Missouri—Persons taking part in the migration—Preparations for removal—The coach—The caravan of goods and negroes—Shower of meteors—Frontier civilization—Establishing new homes—Burning of Mr. Smith's cabin—Extent of the disaster—Agitation for the removal of the county seat—Georgetown founded and made capital of the county—Mr. Smith takes contract for building court-house—Description of it.

"Up to our own day," says a recent writer, "American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development. . . . The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of its progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. . . . American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial new-birth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnishes the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the great West. . . . At first the frontier was the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving westward, the frontier became more and more American. . . . Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history."[1]

In the foregoing extract is presented one of the important view-points from which the life of the subject of this sketch should be regarded. In the never-ceasing westward expansion, the ancestors of Mr. Smith had already borne their part. The first

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[1] Professor Frederick J. Turner, in *Report of American Historical Association* for 1893, pp. 199-201.

George Smith of whom we have record had moved, "with tomahawk, rifle, and buffalo robe," from the coast-lands of Virginia westward to Powhatan county. His grandson, George Smith, in obedience to the same impulse had taken up the line of march from Virginia through the Cumberland Gap into the "dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky. Now the latter's son, under the operation of the same forces, was to migrate from Kentucky to Missouri, there to take his part in the building of the newer community, as his father had done in the older one of Kentucky.[1]

The attention of Mr. Smith seems first to have been turned to Missouri by his father-in-law. With that large faith in the boundless possibilities of our country which underlies all land speculation and migration to new territory, General Thomson had made several trips to Illinois and Missouri, with a view to purchasing desirable government lands at the cheap prices at which they were then offered. In an old commonplace book, made from paper manufactured in his own mill, brief entries of these journeys are to be found. For the winter of 1825-26, a trip to Vandalia, Illinois, is recorded, and the purchase of "seventy-eight quarter sections of land, fifty-three at public sale for the taxes and twenty-five at private sale." In the fall of 1826 a second trip to Vandalia is described, with its extension into Boone county, Missouri, and "the upper part of the State." In 1830 another trip to Illinois is mentioned, in company with his son-in-law, Mr. Smith, "to look at lands in Illinois." In October and November of the next year, a trip is related, in company with another son-in-law, Lewis Redd Major, to Saline county, Missouri, where (General Thomson adds) "Mr. Major and myself purchased six hundred acres of land each of us, for which we paid $1.25 per acre." Finally in March and April, 1833, a trip to Missouri is mentioned, on which General Thomson and Mr. Major went by boat—all of the former trips having been made on horseback—from Frankfort to Louisville, Louisville to St. Louis, and thence by "hack" and horseback to their destination. The lands purchased in 1831 are now described as in Pettis county, which had been set off from Saline county in 1832. The party not only inspected the lands already purchased, doubtless with a view to a speedy removal thither, but entered others; and returned, by the same route, to their Kentucky home.

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[1] It is not without interest to note in this connection that on the discovery of gold in California in 1849, the project was seriously discussed by Mr. Smith and the Thomsons of removing in a body to that country; and some members of the family did move thither. See letter of M. V Thomson, Feb. 4, 1849 (p. 150 below).

Pettis county, in the early thirties, was almost at the limits of western settlement; but immigration was steadily setting in, and prospects were good for speedy development. When General Thomson proposed to his two sons-in-law that they should all join the westward movement, and take up their abodes in the new State, where larger possibilities existed for all, a ready assent seems to have been given. But the preparations took some time. The mills and other property of General Thomson had to be disposed of, the business interests of Mr. Smith had to be arranged—no easy task, as it turned out, and one which entailed a succession of suits, extending over a period of years, for debts due him,—and lastly transportation had to be furnished for a considerable number of negroes. The make-up of the company, the means of transportation, and the details of the settlement in Missouri, together with some of the incidents of the journey itself, are thus described by Mrs. M. E. Smith, at that time a child of three years:

In October of the year 1833, our grandfather and grandmother left their home near Georgetown, in Scott county, Kentucky, with eight of their children, to make a new home in Missouri. Three children had already married. Manlius V. Thomson, the oldest child, who was practicing law in Georgetown, remained behind. Mildred Elvira, the next oldest, had married Mr. Lewis Redd Major, and they, with their four children and a large family of negroes, decided to emigrate to the new country. Melita Ann, the third child and second daughter, was married six years previously to our father, and with us two little girls also took seats in her father's commodious carriage to make the long tedious journey of seven hundred miles. Besides ourselves there were two other little girls to accompany this party: our aunts, Marion, a lovely child of ten summers, and Melcena, the baby sister of eight, the two youngest children of General and Mrs. Thomson.

Martha Vienna, one of their ten children, had married and died; and Mentor, the fourth child and second son, had chosen his bride to bear him company to the far-away home. He had won the hand of Miss Cora Woolridge, of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, a sparkling young woman of beauty and accomplishments. It was said of her that her industry was much more than ordinary in those days of slave labor, when the young ladies were taught to depend on their dusky maidens for the every-day services of life. The young couple did not, however, make the trip at the time we did, but came some months later. The other three boys who complete our grandfather's family were Milton, Morton, and Monroe — aged respectively nineteen, seventeen, and fifteen years. Milton, the oldest, was detailed by his father to take charge of the slaves, of whom there was a large company, and the two younger boys were to accompany him.

Our mother and grandmother, our two young girl aunts, my sister and myself, all traveled in one large carriage, with a negro man Jackson driving, and grandpa on horseback to find the roads and judge of the crossings over muddy places. The carriage was a great yellow coach, closed all around from air and light except for the windows in the doors. It sat high up on the springs, and had folding steps by which to ascend into its broad deep-cushioned seats. On the outside was a driver's seat high up above the horses, and behind was another large seat, that hung by broad belts of leather, for an outrider whose duty it was to open gates and attend the family.

The whole was drawn by a pair of horses caparisoned with the ponderous trappings of the times; and a saddle horse accompanied the party which was used alternately by the ladies to relieve the monotony and tedium of the journey. In another party went the caravan of covered ox-wagons containing the furniture, looms, spinning-wheels (big and little), tableware, etc.; together with the negroes and their families. The whole company of emigrants consisted of eighty-eight persons, of whom seventy-five were slaves.

Before the final good-byes were spoken there were many things to do. Among the most important of these was the arranging to take or to leave entire slave families together, so that there might be no involuntary separation.

The slaves had intermarried with the neighbors' negroes, and our grandfather, being humane in his feelings, was unwilling to separate them; so to overcome this difficulty, he had to buy where he could, and sell where he must. This was no little task among a number of thirty or forty people, but finally it was accomplished as far as possible, and the caravan set out. The negroes—men and women, the babies and the gray-haired grandparents—were to follow their master. There were five or six very old ones—Aunt Creasy, Aunt Kizzy, Uncle Toby, Aunt Rachel, and Uncle Jack—who, as I remember them, were oracles of wisdom, holding direct communication with spirits, wizards, and witches; and who would on occasion deal out some of their mysterious spells to us listening wondering children, in the long quiet evenings that followed our settlement in the new country. Dear old "Kaintucky" memories were to them hallowed things of the beautiful, irrevocable past; and their faltering, trembling voices, their heavy lips, and wrinkled faces only made their pathetic stories the more sacred and the more tender to our too credulous ears.

Our father was to follow, after the settlement of some business at Georgetown. Of the incidents of the trip we must remain ignorant almost entirely, as the writer (one of the babies in the carriage) can only remember a place called Purgatory, in Illinois, where the road led through a swamp; and the memory goes that it really was a "Purgatory," as the image of the floundering horses is vividly before her. Another scene that was impressed indelibly, is the crossing of the river in the ferry-boat at St. Louis, and how frightened our mother and grandmother were. The rest of the journey is lost in the baby memories of the mind that is trying to record these incidents.

Our Uncle Milton, who had charge of the negroes, was moving on slowly, but was not long after us in reaching the place of our destination. Our party, after tarrying with relatives for several weeks in Calloway county, arrived in Pettis on the evening of the twelfth of November, 1833, and went into camp (so our grandfather's journal says) in the Lamine river bottom, at what is now known as Scott's Ford. From about ten o'clock in the evening until daybreak they witnessed the celebrated display of meteors in the heavens. Dear old Peggy, who was cook for our grandfather in his later life, and died in 1898, at the age of seventy-seven, told vividly how frightened the negroes were at the falling of the stars. "We were in camp by the Lamine river," she said, "and we-all thought judgment had come. Could hear the stars falling like hail on the tops of the tents. The old folks all prayed, and we children 'hollered.' The elements were ablaze. It done lasted for hours, and we-all never expected to see daylight no more."

Having reached their destination, the travelers found themselves in the midst of a typical frontier region. Boonville, the nearest trading town on the Missouri river, was thirty-five miles distant. From that point alone could the new settlers get their supplies. What roads existed were atrocious, being mere bridle-paths through forest and prairie, abounding in quagmires and rough with stumps and hillocks. Settlers at first were few and far between. Beyond the meridian of the mouth of the Kansas river (that being, until after 1837, the western limit of the State throughout its length) lay the unorganized territory of the United States, to which the Indian title was not yet extinguished; and there roamed the Foxes and the Sacs, the Kansas and the Shawnees, the Osages and Cherokees. The Missouri of that day was a wild region, containing but a crude civilization. The cabins of the settlers were almost always constructed of unhewn logs daubed with clay, with clapboard roofs, and stick-and-clay chimneys. At the time of the settlement there was not one house in the neighborhood that had window-glass in it. If the owner was of an aristocratic turn, he might indulge in the luxury of a puncheon floor; if not, the bare earth, beaten hard, sufficed. The household furniture, for the most part, was homemade. The bedsteads were usually of the "one-post" sort, formed by planting a single upright or fork in the floor of the room, connecting this with the two adjoining walls by poles let into the logs, and weaving a platform of poles and hickory bark (or clapboards) across for the couch; on this was then thrown a few deer-skins, and such bedding as the parties could afford. Articles of clothing were almost entirely of home manufacture, and lucky was the settler who came already equipped with cards, spinning-wheels, looms, and the other apparatus needed for spinning and weaving. "Our neighbors called," writes General Thomson's daughter Marion, "arrayed in buckskin trousers and jackets decorated with fringes of the same material. You ask, How were the ladies dressed? I think there were just three in the county. They wore expensive dresses when they called, made of calico at twenty-five cents a yard. The wolves often howled 'round about the cabins with perfect impunity, with none to molest or make them afraid. You could scarcely walk a mile without seeing herds of deer. Flocks of wild turkeys filled the woods and a superabundance of rattlesnakes crawled about the premises. All we had to do to get a supply of 'sweetening' was to fell a bee-tree, and we could cut out bushels of honey." By co-operation alone could the settlers "raise" their buildings. Of this, an early settler says: "When we had a house or stable to 'raise,' our neighbors to the distance of eight or ten miles up and down Muddy were on hand, each with his gun and dog, and a deer or turkey lashed on behind him. After the work was done a great feast would follow, and often a long-necked gourd filled with apple or peach brandy would be produced and partaken of, while stories of hair-breadth escapes by flood and field would be narrated by each in turn." [1]

This was the region, and such the culture into which the new-comers from Kentucky were now introduced. The Thomson-Smith colonists brought considerable wealth with them and were able to live much more luxuriously than their neighbors. To continue from the reminiscences of Mrs. M. E. Smith:

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[1] *History of Pettis County* (1882).

> Among our grandfather's colored men were a carpenter, a stone-mason, and a millwright, besides the farm-hands; and among the women a weaver, a spinner, cooks, and housemaids, so that the elements of a rude civilization were in the family. On a tract of timber land which our grandfather had bought on Muddy creek, several cabins were ready; and into these we moved with our grandfather. A little later our mother's oldest sister, her husband, Redd Major, and their little family of three girls and one boy, located not far away. These were very pleasant days to me, and in the golden retrospect there is no want of any luxury or happiness in the dear humble homes, lighted as they were by my mother's and grandmother's gentle faces and Aunt Elvira's good cheer, that made all the children happy. Dear Aunt Marion and Aunt Melcena, and Cousins Ann and Evelyn, the oldest of Aunt Elvira's daughters! I looked with the envy of a child at their rapidly advancing womanhood, and a kind of reverence came over me, as I thought that mine with its privileges would never come. The other children of Aunt E. were "Bine" or Vienna—somewhat older than myself,—and "Johnny," the youngest of all except my baby sister.
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> The cabins which were occupied during the first winter were rude and crowded. The next year our grandfather built some better and more commodious ones on the southwest quarter of section seven,

which lies about three miles northwest of Georgetown. These were arranged in a row, two and two together, connected by an open passage-way roofed over. His own family occupied two of them until he could build a better house; this, when built, in 1840, was christened Elm Spring, and became our grandfather's permanent home.[1] The boys, Morton and Monroe, were sent back to Georgetown, Kentucky, to complete their education. Later Milton taught school in a log-house built for the purpose about half way between our Uncle Major's and our grandfather's, where the children of both families first started to school in the new country. Here he had as pupils the neighbors' children, as well as his own little sisters, Marion and Melcena, and the nieces and nephews.

When our grandfather removed from the cabins on the Muddy he sold them and the land about them to our father. We had been living there about a year, when one day a great misfortune befell us. Our mother and father, with sister, had gone to visit our Uncle Mentor, who had just brought his bride to a log-cabin home in our locality. While they were away our dear little house took fire and burned to the ground, destroying all that we had. It was a serious loss. It was our little all, brought at a great expenditure from our old home in Kentucky, and each piece had its precious associations. All the relics and heirlooms from our Grandfather Smith were destroyed. We were left destitute, indeed. Nothing was saved, not even an article of clothing. I happened to be at my grandfather's about a mile away for a few days and had a change of clothing. Except for this, we were deprived of everything and had to begin anew. My only memory of the sad event is that of seeing my mother weep when she and my father, after turning away from their home, came to my grandfather's for refuge. The tableau of the negroes and white people is vividly impressed on my memory, all looking toward the red smoke that was still going up in the west. A kind neighbor, Mrs. Reece, who lived about a half mile from us, gave to my little sister a white cotton dress, home-grown, homespun, and home-woven. My mother's eyes would fill with tears to the last day of her life, when she would speak of this neighborly act.

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[1] The house, and the tree for which the place was named, are doing good service still. (August, 1904.)

After this disaster, Mr. Smith and his small family took up their residence once more, for a time, with General Thomson. Preparations, however, were begun and prosecuted through the ensuing winter for the building of a new house. Of this period his daughter writes:

The calamity which had overtaken us was the more serious because there were no stores within our reach from which to replenish our household goods; but from our good grandmother's supply, our lost bedding was partially restored, and our father's deft fingers and willing heart soon supplied a more homely, perhaps, but more precious set of furniture from the black-walnut trees that skirted the stream near by. Two walnut chests I recall, to the depths of which I often had to go, standing on tip-toe—the one for clean bedding, the other for the laundried cotton underwear, which always had to go through a second airing on chairs in front of the fire before being used. Well do I remember, also, the bedstead with short upright posts that served for pa and mother; and the lower one, the little trundle-bed, with its rollers, both of which might be called awkward in the present stage of civilization, but which served well their purpose in that day. That same little bed gave many a sacred repose to our child forms, and many an uneasy resting (or unresting) place when we were shaken up by the ague, from which none of us escaped.

Even before the burning of their cabin, Mr. Smith had begun to entertain projects for a removal of his family from their first location on the banks of the Muddy; and their misfortune gave readier opportunity for the change. But before we pass to this we must glance at the growth of the larger organizations—the county and especially the county-town—with which the next home-founding was to be connected.

Pettis county had only been organized a year when General Thomson and his sons-in-law took up their residence there. Most of the "settlements" of that time were made on the creeks, where timber for building abounded, and where springs provided palatable water. The county seat was first established at such a settlement on Muddy creek, where Mr. Thomas Wasson had erected a water-mill, and a store had been opened by Clifton and Watson Wood; there a blacksmith shop was also soon in full blast. This little hamlet was named St. Helena, but it came almost universally to be spoken of as "Pinhook" or "Pinhook Mills," owing apparently to the fact that the natives were given to fishing in the mill-pond with hooks made of bent pins. This location for the county seat proving inconvenient, as settlement advanced its removal to a point nearer the center of the county was decided upon. Two of the chief citizens of the county, Messrs. Ramey and Wasson, both members of the county court, offered to give a tract of land to the county, provided a town should be laid out and the county seat established thereon. This tract was near the center of the county and offered a beautiful site of rolling ground covered with a natural growth of trees; best of all, it afforded two never-failing springs, on the north and on the south sides of the proposed town, so that the water supply of prospective inhabitants was assured. These advantages led to the acceptance of the offer, and the new town was laid out. General Thomson being allowed to name the settlement, called it Georgetown, in honor of his old Kentucky home. An act of the legislature was procured by which the county seat was removed from St. Helena to the latter place; where it remained until 1865, when again, by an act of the legislature, it was removed to Sedalia, its present location.

Before the county seat could actually be transferred to Georgetown, it was necessary to erect a building in which to house the county records and hold the sessions of the county court. With this Mr. Smith was especially connected, as will be seen from the following reminiscences of his daughter, Mrs. M. E. Smith:

When the question of building a court-house came up, the people, because of the poverty of the community, wanted a log one; but they were persuaded

—by our father, as Major Gentry told me—to build a brick one. When this was first proposed, it met with great opposition, for no brick had ever been made in that portion of the country, and it was thought there was no one there who understood the art. To overcome this opposition, our father and Judge Ramey made a written proposition to the court to manufacture the brick and erect the building within two years; and on December 26, 1835, they were awarded the contract.

The building was erected handsomely and substantially within the time allowed,[1] and the square was inclosed with a fence and shaded with locust trees selected and planted gratuitously by our grandfather. To my eyes there never was a prettier house. It was square, with a large door in the center of each of three sides, and a large window on each side of the doors. The north side had the two windows but no door, the space between being occupied by the judge's bench. This was a platform about four feet high with chairs on it, and terminated at the two windows with four or five steps. A balustrade followed the whole length of steps and platform, and continued at right angles, inclosing a square in the center of the building which had benches just inside the railing. This space was floored, and served some grand purpose for the primitive courts; where justice, I trust, was meted out with a little more regard to her blind prerogative than is done now with our advanced civilization when the penalty pursues the poor friendless culprit, but the rich man is lionized, even honored, by our laws and judges! But to return. The rest of the floor was brick, with some benches. A stairway, which I suppose now was a common one, led magnificently with its balustrade to the second story; and as my young feet proudly ascended its lofty height, I looked on the assembled multitudes with awe and admiration that have not come to me since, even in the palaces of Europe. The roof was beautiful, not simply a board-covered comb, like our common cabin homes, but square and shingled, and terminated at its top with a lovely octagonal observatory, with green shutters hung to white posts; and this also had a beautiful shingled roof. The cupola in turn was surmounted by a tapering spire that held a gilded globe with an arrow above, on which was pivoted a fish of gold that turned with the wind. How could anything be prettier! That lovely red brick wall, with its painted windows and doors, that splendid roof, and that beautiful cupola, up two stories high! And the ladies could go in, too; for within its walls they had big meetings, great revivals of religion, dancing schools and day schools, and sometimes temperance speeches and lyceums. At these societies, balls, parties, and May Day celebrations, you can have no idea how the sun shone on the court-house, and how lovely the moonlight fell and played its soft caressing touches about the great locust trees our grandfather had planted! . . . No, you can never know! . . . Dear old Georgetown!

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[1] Accepted by the county court, and the contractors discharged from their bond, December 16, 1837.

CHAPTER III

OLD MISSOURI LIFE

Removal to Georgetown—The new cabin—Household life—Growth of the community—Chills and fever, and their treatment—Doctors—Taverns and travel—Churches and religious life—Education—Efforts to secure an academy for young ladies—The first piano—Slavery, drink, and their attendant evils—The position of women.

When Georgetown was laid out, Mr. Smith removed thither with his family. He did not like farming, and by removing to the new town there was a prospect that he might be able to turn to account the knowledge of law which he had acquired in Kentucky. This expectation, however, was not realized. As Mrs. Smith says: "There was no occasion to use his knowledge of law. In this new country there was no litigation. Everybody was everybody's friend. They helped each other. If a house was to be built, all the neighbors went to the 'raising.' If any were sick, the neighbors helped take care of the invalid. Any misfortune to one called forth the sympathy of the neighborhood."

So the chief occupation of Mr. Smith, for some years after his removal to Georgetown, continued to be the management of his farm. His land adjoined the town, and extended south for about a mile; it was soon inclosed by a worm or rail fence, and a portion of it was planted with an orchard of fine peach and apple trees. The cabin which he erected on this land was the second one erected in Georgetown, the first having been built by George Heard, a lawyer, who taught the first school there.[1] Both were built of square-hewn logs instead of round ones, as was usually the case, and had glass windows. The following details are given by Mrs. Smith:

> With the assistance of our grandfather's negroes and the neighbors, our cabin was "raised" and was soon ready for occupancy. Our grandfather's stock of household goods, as has before been stated, was opened to our mother for a frugal supply of the necessary articles, especially bedding and tableware. Our thoughtful mother made this the occasion for adding to our live-stock a flock of geese, from which our feather-beds—indispensable articles at that time—were to come; these, with the straw under-mattresses, often renewed, furnished beds that were both soft and comfortable, and our new cabin became a thing of joy if not of beauty. We moved into it in 1835. Our latch-string was thenceforth out again; and many were the little parties, candy-pullings, and companies of various kinds that gave joy to the place.
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> Our cabin consisted of one large room, twenty feet square, and a kitchen of the same size, with an entry between the two to make it comfortable and convenient. Usually the kitchens were built about twenty or thirty feet from the "house"; why I do

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[1] Mr. Heard was the father of Hon. John T. Heard, now of Sedalia.

GEORGE R. SMITH

Aged *circa* Thirty

not know. Our dear little mother always had her kitchen near the "house," as she was vigilant in overseeing the proceedings of both the kitchen and the house, and being very delicate could not endure exposure. The house was built of hewn logs, with neat white-lime pointings between. It was unplastered at first; but the floor was covered with fresh rag-carpeting as soon as Aunt Rachel, our grandmother's weaver, could weave it for us; and a large white crumb cloth, made of "Osnaburg," and frequently washed, was lightly tacked over the carpet, under the table. When a big roaring fire sparkled in the capacious fire-place, the little room seemed to us luxurious as a king's palace. In the evening when the supper cloth had been removed and we four gathered, in the mellow light of the candles, around the table in the middle of the floor, it was a picture for an artist; and when the trundle-bed was drawn from its hiding-place under our mother's bed, and we knelt with her to say our prayers, our little cabin became a sanctuary. So the dear little room was as well adapted to all the functions of life as a large modern house.

Our smoke-house, hen-house, and stables made up the requirements for outside buildings. I must not forget to mention the "bed-bench." This was a frame about fifteen feet square and two and one-half feet high, with broad, heavy planks or "slabs" laid over the top of it. On no account was anything to touch the ground, so exacting was our mother's idea of neatness. There the carpets were shaken and the bedding aired; and what a time we had hunting for stray moths when the woolen clothing was brought out before being put away for the summer.

There were no stoves then in our part of the country, but the great open wooden-chimneyed fire-places, in which roared and blazed harmlessly splendid flames that leapt from a mass of burning coals, served in "the house" for warmth and good cheer, and in the kitchen for the old-fashioned cooking that was done by the darkies in heavy cast-iron ovens, skillets, and frying-pans. On "johnny cake" boards, made of wood, delicious cakes were baked by simply setting them in front of the fire. In using the ovens for baking bread, the coals were drawn out on the broad stone hearth, and often a blaze of burning brush was built on the top of the heavy lid or cover; whilst back in the smoke and heat of the chimney hung the crane, always ready to do duty when a big boil was on hand, whether for dinner or a clothes-washing.

About the same time that Mr. Smith established his family at Georgetown, his brother-in-law, Mentor Thomson, settled on a large farm southwest of the town. Thus the Smith-Thomson connection made quite a colony. They visited among each other, were hospitable to all comers, and as the children, Marion and Melcena, grew up they were sent away to a school at Boonville, taught by Mr. Chinn. So the foundations were laid of a community in and about Georgetown which was characterized by prosperity and happy associations; and thus this region became a desirable location for the emigrants who followed. Speaking of the growth of the community, Mrs. Smith writes:

> It was in 1840 that my grandfather built his new brick house at Elm Spring, just in front of the little cabins which he had first erected. He had already planted a fine orchard and established a grist

and saw-mill on Muddy creek. Before this the people had to send their corn forty miles to mill, or else grate it on tin graters—none but those who have tried it can have any idea how delicious bread is made from meal grated in this fashion. My grandfather also built a covered bridge over the creek near the mills, and was helping to make the wilderness blossom as the rose. Georgetown, in the meantime, was improving. Two brothers, Watson and Clifton Wood, brought their dry-goods store up from "Pin-hook," and with their familes located in the town, adding greatly to the social and religious life of the community.

In charming fashion the sketches from which these quotations have been made continue, with their description of the life of this region in the thirties and the forties. No better setting than is here afforded can be found for the life and acts of those times. The hand that holds the pencil, it is true, is a loving one, and the scenes depicted are viewed through the glorifying mists of fond recollection and filial affection. This does not rob the picture of its value, but enhances it rather, for it insures to the scenes described insight and understanding. And the narrator is not blind to the somber shadows which lie on the landscape;—she does not fail to observe the shortcomings and the sins, alas! of that time and that community.

Of the physical discomfort and suffering that too often attended the good cheer of pioneer life, a description is given:

When our people first reached Missouri, there were no physicians nearer than Arrowrock or Boonville, and no way to reach them except by a lonely horseback ride of twenty-six miles to the one and thirty-eight miles to the other. There was a great deal of malaria then, though we did not know it by that name. The whole family, one by one, and sometimes two, four, or six at a time, would be down with chills. By heroic measures the attacks might be made less vigorous, or the monster for a time kept at bay; but usually we carried the disease latent in our systems. It would apparently let its victims go for a while, only to arouse itself with greater force than ever when they were least expecting it. Then it would shake them until their chattering teeth, quivering limbs, and rolling eyes would make you think a very demon had possession of them. When it had spent its strength it would leave them prostrate and weak from very exhaustion. In spite of all they could do, people went about sallow and pale, showing that the monster malaria had the better of them.

In our father's drawer there were always familiar bottles of quinine and the little paper packages of calomel, with accompanying medicine scales. In our mother's cupboard was a rival collection of bunches of dried boneset, rue, mint, nervine, hoarhound, lobelia, ipecac, and rhubarb. These were the remedies of different schools, and it was a question which was the safer, and should have the ascendency. Quinine administered by home talent was perhaps the remedy most used in mild cases; though the herbs named above—"Indian remedies" as they were styled, from the so-called Indian doctors who used them—were grown with the greatest care in every prudent housewife's garden. Often we were compelled, by our grandmother or mother, to drink quarts or gallons of these bitter teas; until we would be forced to disgorge. Then the chill or fever would generally surrender; and a fine, much-desired "sweat" would lull the patient into a refreshing slumber, from which he would often awaken cured. Stomach cleansed and fever gone, a fine appetite usually followed, which would do the rest of the healing. But often the chills and fever were obstinate, and would assert themselves periodically for months. The dread disease was no respecter of persons, and attacked black and white alike. The negroes—bless the memory of their child-like helplessness!—were always getting sick and coming to "Mistis" (our grandmother) for a little boneset tea, and going back from her sweet sympathetic face comforted and strengthened for the shadowed life of hopeless servitude before them.

When there was a case of serious fever to contend with, and a doctor became absolutely necessary, a man had to be dispatched on horseback to Arrowrock on the Missouri river, for Dr. Sappington or Dr. Penn. The despondent were always relieved when these men entered the door, for they were very successful, and we yet bless their memories.[1] Finally our fame and the report of our needs reached our neighbor States, and we began to have accessions from the medical and law schools of Kentucky and Virginia. Dr. Wilkins Watson, a man noted for culture and skill in his profession, came with his family—a wife and two sweet little girls—and settled among us in 1838. He was a native of the Old Dominion, but had graduated in Cincinnati. There was a wide field for his services, as climatic fevers, pneumonia, and pleurisy were becoming very common. Some time after, other systems of medicine began to be represented by various people—Dr. Morse of the Botanic, and Dr. Snoddy of the Eclectic schools. We had now many interesting families who had moved in from various places, and society began to take on an aristocratic air. About 1841 or '42 the family of Dr. Spedden came. They were refined people, and contributed no little to our society. They were Episcopalians and had no sympathy with the prevailing religions of the place. Drs. Spedden and Watson had all they could do in the neighborhood attending the sick. Dr. Watson's home was a social center, for all knew and loved him as their physician, and his good wife, a sweet gentle woman, and his two daughters, made all welcome.

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[1] The following prescription for fever, given by Dr. Penn about 1848, is not without interest: "Twelve grains quinine, 2 grs. opium, 6 grs. camphor, made into 12 pills. Upon an attack of chills and fever give one pill every two hours until three or four hours before the chill comes on; then give them every hour, together with sage or snake-root tea. In bilious fever, after the stomach and bowels have been evacuated, give one pill every three hours, regardless of fever. When there is a violent attack, give two or three doses calomel, commencing the pills after sufficiently reducing the patient or the disease. If much sickness at the stomach upon the attack, give an emetic, then purge. If the fever is very high, give a teaspoonful sweet spirits niter combined with the same quantity of paregoric, every three hours, in one-half teacupful warm tea, dispensing with the pills until the fever is a little subdued by the febrifuge."

With reference to travel and taverns, and the festivities which group themselves about public houses of entertainment, the narrative continues:

I must not forget to mention good old Captain Kidd, who presided over the only hostelry there was in Georgetown. We had no stages, nor other means of transportation for travelers than horseback; and our mails were carried in the same slow and unsatisfactory way. The captain's visitors were generally of the equestrian. The obscurity of our country, and the absence of large cities made travelers very rare; but people were communicative, and in half an hour after a visitor had been received and the horse "taken," the entire story of his intentions was known. Curiosity, or it may be interest, made each side mutually inquisitive and confiding. Woe betide a reticent man! He was at once suspected and became a proper object of scrutiny. The captain was a good man; and he and his estimable wife, and their eight charming daughters, made a happy resort for the young people on public days. Barbecues and protracted meetings; parties, balls, etc.; "'lection days,"—those afflictions that had to come to all towns, like whooping-cough and measles to children, and which usually meant brawls and fights;—all were managed by that dignified pair, as well as the most exemplary citizens could desire.

The churches and religious life of the new community are also described. The Baptist church which is mentioned was apparently the first church of any denomination organized in Pettis county, and was established some time prior to 1834. It belonged to the "Hard-Shell" or "Anti-Mission" branch of the Baptists, a division that had separated from the main body of the denomination about 1827. The peculiarity of its doctrine was the acceptance of the ultra-Calvinistic view of a limited atonement, and of unconditional election and reprobation, from which followed the uselessness of all missionary enterprises, of Sabbath schools, and of education for ministers. It may also be stated that the impressions derived by Mr. Smith in his boyhood days from Elder Stone were reinforced by the preaching in 1842 of Elder Allen Wright, under whose ministrations Mrs. Smith and the elder daughter united with the church; and later, in 1847, of Elder Samuel S. Church, both ministers of the Christian denomination. In 1847 Mr. Smith and his younger daughter were also baptized into that communion.

When we first came to Missouri there was a Baptist church, consisting of about twelve members, who worshipped in a log "meeting-house" about a mile north of Georgetown. It was presided over by a divine of the appropriate name (if a little facetiousness is admissible on such grave subjects) of Wolf. My Uncle Major and my grandmother were both members of that church; and it was pleasant, even in the rude way in which it was practiced, to find some effort toward worshipping the Eternal Father, and to have some one who felt himself specially called to minister to the dying and to lay away the dead.

About the year 1842, Allen Wright came to Georgetown from Springfield, Mo., and held a series of meetings. He interpreted the Bible in harmony with the ideas of Alexander Campbell. Elder Wright was a man of great force and won many followers. He was a fine expounder of this new-old Gospel, and won over a large portion of the community from their prejudices. At first many came to scoff, but were convicted under the overwhelming eloquence and earnestness with which he told the story of redemption. His voice was, indeed, like John's preaching in the wilderness, when he showed that Christ was more ready to forgive and to receive, than they were to ask; and that there was no need for "miraculous experiences," sights, visions and dreams, such as were claimed by the old-fashioned Baptists; and that the moment a sinner was convicted of sin, Christ with open arms was ready to receive him, and there was no necessity for wrestling with our crucified Savior. Elder Wright was in the habit of coming to Georgetown from time to time to preach in the court-house, beginning the services generally at "the early lighting of a candle." He would continue his meetings for perhaps two weeks, baptizing in the primitive mode in Cedar creek, north of Georgetown. A church organization was effected which was reinforced by Dr. Ferris, George W. Longan, S. S. Church, Dr. Hopson, and others. A number of my grandfather's children and grandchildren were converted; but he himself, although an attentive listener, a constant Bible reader, and most exemplary in his character, never made a confession of religion.

Between the years 1848 and '50, Mr. Marvin, a Universalist minister of great talent, came to Georgetown, and, with his fascinating doctrine led many from the faith. He was eloquent, elegant in manner, and delivered his captivating theme with so much earnestness, it is no wonder that many were convinced. He plead for a higher life based on the motive of love instead of fear. My grandfather loved to hear him, and it was thought that he embraced the doctrine without saying so to his family, who looked upon Universalism as being in direct disobedience to the teachings of the Bible. One or two of his children openly avowed their faith in the universal salvation of men.

Despite some positive injunctions in the State constitution, little was done for the cause of popular education by Missouri prior to 1854. As early as 1839 a general school law was passed, providing for a system of "free schools," for which funds might be derived alike from the State, county, and township, and from voluntary contributions; but the amount of these funds was small. A prejudice, indeed, lingered in many quarters against schools that were denominated "free." What higher education was to be had in the State was furnished by a few denominational colleges, and by such academies for young men and for young ladies as the bounty of the citizens established. Primary education, too, was provided for in the main by voluntary contributions; and the picture given by Alexander Campbell of "the round-log school-house, with its paper windows and its squalid urchins grinning over their monotonous and uproarious A, B, C," may be taken as typical of the condition of the usual schools of Missouri at the close of the first half of the century.[1] The school furniture consisted of long backless benches, made of inverted puncheons mounted on legs, and of wide planks fastened to the wall for writing desks; while of educational appliances and apparatus there was an almost total lack. The subjects taught were of the most limited range, and "the highest aim of the youth of the common schools in the pioneer days of Pettis county," it is said, "was to write a fair hand, spell orally, and solve mathematical puzzles.[2]

The locality in which Mr. Smith settled was rather more fortunate, with respect to education, than most of the interior counties. The first teachers of Pettis county seem to have been men of ability and character. George Heard was the first teacher of the county, the second being Mr. Smith's brother-in-law, Milton Thomson. Of the efforts to secure some provision for higher education, Mrs. M. E. Smith writes:

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[1] *Millennial Harbinger*, for 1853, p. 72. For a detailed description of frontier schools, and a defense of the method of learning lessons aloud see Drake, *Pioneer in Kentucky*, pp. 141-177.

[2] *History of Pettis County*, p. 320.

> Our father's admiration for intellectual culture at that early day, when his surroundings were so adverse, shows the energy of the man and the aspirations of his nature. With whatever native talent for public speaking he had, he endeavored to promote the cause of higher education. He urged the importance of having schools in which the higher branches might be taught in our own town. He began his efforts as early as 1836; but at that time nothing came of it. He was obliged to see his children growing into womanhood without the advantages that he deemed necessary. By his own efforts, so far as his busy life outside would permit, he endeavored to remedy this defect; and the quiet home hours with wife and children were spent in painting such enchanting pictures of literature, art, and science, that we were led to attack with hearty good will the pages of ancient and modern history, over a row of barrels which served the double purpose of a cellar for our fruit, and a desk for the young ideas that were vainly struggling toward the light.
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> Something of the interest which our father took in the cause of education may be gathered from the following fragment of a speech, which was found among his papers after his death. It was probably delivered about 1840. It reads as follows, beginning in the middle of a sentence:
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> ". . . will all soon crumble into dust and nothing be left of the shattered and dilapidated remains to tell to whose memory they were erected. Not so with our enterprise. We by our efforts this

day perpetuate in the hearts of countless generations the noble and patriotic actions that stimulate us to the enterprise; we elevate the human mind from things trivial to things of importance; we establish the everlasting dominion of literature and of civilization; we alienate the affections from vice, from sin, from worldly lucre, and place them upon our God; we elevate the soul and gladden the listless hours of the desponding. We bequeath a rich inheritance to our children, and by them it will be transmitted from sire to son, from mother to daughter, through countless ages, until the last trump of the archangel shall sound announcing that time shall be no more. Beyond this, fellow citizens, I will not attempt to go, save to remark that wiser heads than mine have supposed we occupy here only the preparatory department in the grand college that meets above, and according to the progress we make here our stations will be assigned us there; if so, when the dark curtain shall unveil the still darker realities of eternity upon us, the welcome plaudits of 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant,' may be awarded to us. Fellow citizens, no possible contingency can present itself to my mind that the whole community should not with one voice unite in defence of the cause we this day plead.

"To the ladies, we say we expect your undivided co-operation. In times of yore, the literary acquirements of your sex (and it is too much the case now) were treated as stanch pedantry or vain pretensions. The literary acquirements of your sex have been stigmatized as inconsistent with domestic affections and virtues which constitute the charm of society. Abundant homilies have been read upon your amiable weakness and sentimental delicacy, upon your timid gentleness and submissive dependence. By these prejudices mothers have been denied the power of instructing their children; wives have not been permitted to share the intellectual pursuits of their husbands. And [it was taught] that most women had no character at all beyond that of purity and devotion to their families. These times and these things are passing or have passed away. The prejudices which dishonored the sex have yielded to truth. Wherever polite literature has cast its beneficial influence upon society, there woman's influence is felt. It is to you we appeal; it is directly your sex we wish to elevate, in doing which—ours being so indissolubly connected with yours—our progress will be in the same ratio. Fashion has not excluded you from the society of the learned because we were accustomed to regard you as inferior in intellectual importance. Your literary attainments were not expected to equal theirs; heretofore you have only been permitted to sip at the Pierian fountain, whilst we could drink deep and slake our thirst. This is not the only occasion we have sought your influence when ours had failed. Your example can do more than perhaps you are aware. We court your influence, we expect your co-operation. Your smiles, your approbation will cheer us on, in our effort to strengthen and adorn your minds with intellectual graces, to give to your voice the music of enlightened and eloquent discourse, clothe your mind with dignity, grace your soul with the enchanting notes of literature and knowledge. Then man will approach you with profound respect; he will not enter your presence till he can be assimilated to your attributes. His mind will of necessity be elevated to your principles, give purity and elegance to his manners and language, that he may taste with you the refined joys of knowledge. It is, fellow citizens, to quote the language of another, on the platform of female education where the moral lever must be placed to move the world to a more elevated orbit of intellectual and moral glory."

After many years of effort, he finally secured the co-operation of a few citizens in the project of establishing a female academy in Georgetown. He would call meetings of the trustees every week or two to consider the best ways and means of furthering the project. A charter of incorporation was obtained in 1841. By a deed which bears date May 19, 1845, he donated two acres of land in the southern suburbs of Georgetown for the site of the academy, besides which he gave money. A few others subscribed to the enterprise, and the work of building was begun. The structure was of brick, and it progressed as far as the completion of the walls and the roofing in; then the generosity of the people relapsed, and the building stood idle a few years, a monument to our indifference and our poverty. Finally the building and ground were put up at sale by the trustees, and our father bought them. He then had the building finished for a residence and moved into it in December, 1849.

In January he hired a teacher from Boston, Miss Munroe, and used one of the rooms as a schoolroom for ourselves and a few other girls. So in 1850 "the academy," as it had always been called, was both occupied by our family and used for a school. A merry winter it was for us girls and our young teacher. She was a bright, beautiful young woman of twenty-three years, conscientious in the highest degree, but full of fun and merriment. She and her pupils were diligent during study hours; and she always opened the morning session of the school with Bible reading, prayer, and the singing of a hymn. In the evening and during the recesses of the day, when the weather was too inclement for out-door exercise, one of the farm-hands—a Spaniard whom our father had brought from Santa Fé, where he was freighting—would be called in with his violin, and the large schoolroom, with its chairs set back, would be used as a dancing hall. In this amusement our amiable teacher was our leader, as well as in our studies; and our father and mother, though they were both earnest professors of Christianity, were so far from being averse to innocent enjoyment for their children, that they encouraged by their presence this delightful pastime.

Of the advent of the piano into their household, the following description is given:

In those days the only piano in Georgetown was that possessed by Dr. Watson, whose two daughters, who were educated at Boonville, were for that time beautiful players and singers. There was in addition an instrument made by an ingenious local cabinet-maker which, with its peculiar harmony, adorned the little cottage of Mr. Dorrell D. Fear. Our father's ambition led him on one of his business trips to St. Louis in 1851 to buy a piano, which was brought up the river by boat as far as Jefferson City. He there hired a wagon and brought it through the muddy roads over a journey of sixty-five miles to Georgetown. His purpose was kept from the family, and the carrying out of the project delayed him several days beyond his usual time. The mails were tardy, but we tried to suppress our uneasiness and keep cheerful. He had often been delayed in his return, and almost always arrived after midnight; so we tried to flatter ourselves that all was well. But at last, not being able longer to stand the anxiety, my sister and I had our horses saddled and started out, hoping to meet him. We tried to talk cheerfully as our horses plunged through the mud, but our real feelings must have been revealed when the sight of a slowly-moving covered wagon was discovered approaching in the distance, its wheels digging deeply into the mud. Our suspense increased as we neared it, not knowing what might be in store, and we lapsed into perfect silence. Before we were near enough to distinguish our father under the shadow of the cloudy sky and the cover of the wagon, his great cheery voice of greeting reassured us; and when he explained that a piano was behind him in the wagon, our joy was unbounded. Our dear mother's delight may be imagined when, in addition to finding our father well and happy, the explanation of his delay was made. The colored man Henry, and others, were called, and the ponderous burden became an article of furniture and of delight in our house. This was the second real piano in Georgetown and it created a sensation. The young girls in the little school began the study of music. But the enterprise so happily begun was destined to an early decline; for, in a short time, Miss Munroe had to return to Boston, and the happy associations were broken up. There was now no teacher for us, and the academy lapsed into a home. Thus our hopes again were baffled, but the piano remained a joy forever.

The life in the new country was in many respects very primitive, though good cheer and wholesome pleasure were mingled with toil, privation, and suffering. Kindliness and helpfulness characterized the community, and there was all the inspiration that goes with the building up of a new country. But amid the harmonies of that life a discordant note would often sound and an ominous chord be struck. Death came, with its heartaches and sorrow. Mr. Major, a choice member of the original little colony, fell a victim to typhoid fever; and not long afterward his daughter Vienna sickened and died. But, sadder than the inevitable passing from their circle of loved friends and relatives, were the shadows cast by slavery, drink, and their attendant evils.

In the midst of the fancies and visions that surrounded our simple lives like a halo, making the future wholly bright [continues our chronicler], the ominous clouds that we failed to see, or seeing did not know how to avert, gathered about us. One of these was slavery, which brought luxury, almost princely life, to us even in our cabins, because we were exempt from the drudgery of labor, and had really nothing to do except to look after the social amenities and to see that the slaves were duly cared for and made to work. It is melancholy to remember, as the thought now obtrudes itself, that Uncle Toby, Uncle Jack, and other gray-haired men and women, as well as the younger ones, were compelled to have written permission to leave home, and would come even to me, a little child, when the older members of the family were too busy, to give them a written pass to go to town. The law of the country was to keep the patrol out for the purpose of detecting negroes who might leave home without a pass; and all, the good and the bad, had to obey. When the officer would meet a negro, he would always demand his pass. The date and name of the master were carefully noted, so that if any duplicity was practiced they would find it out, arrest the negro, and send him home. The negroes often had Saturday "evenings," as the afternoons were called, in which to do a little work for themselves; and what they made during this time they could sell and so get a little money. For money, however, they had little need, as they had no opportunities for higher life. Our Eden was nursing the serpent slavery, which was whispering a syren song into the ears of pride and luxury, but which at no distant day was to fill our country with the blackness of despair. Our young men had nothing to do and our young women had no aim in life except marriage, and it was considered almost a disgrace to be an old maid. Twenty-five years of maidenhood constituted an old maid; and thirty years cut her off from hope, happiness, and respectability. Slavery was conducive to indolence and immorality. God has so arranged this life that if we are bread-eaters, we must be bread-winners; each individual for himself, must earn his bread "by the sweat of his brow." If he does not have to make his money, he can sweat a little over its expenditure,—a no less arduous task, if properly and conscientiously done, than the making of it.

Other clouds were drink and tobacco-using. Our little hamlet very soon had its "grocery," where tobacco and whiskey were among the staples dealt out. Our politicians and influential men of the country indulged in both freely; and on election days, whiskey would flow like water, and our sturdy men would sometimes wallow in the mud like swine. The two political parties then were the Whigs and the Democrats, the latter prevailing largely. As time went on, the two elements warred with one another; different issues came up in the political field, and our little district, apparently pure at first, began to contribute its quota of evil to the world. The preachers were preaching and the good people trying, after their fashion, to bring their children up in the way they should go; but slavery, tobacco, and whiskey were doing their demoniacal work; and so it went on. Men were intoxicated, murders committed, and shadows fell darkly on the brightness of many lives. So our little community followed in the wake of other civilizations. The evil multiplied; God seemed to have deserted us. The auction of humanity, and drunkenness were making their sorry record. It was against the law to educate the negroes. . . . Let us draw the veil.

Intelligence and slavery can not exist together. The one enforced wrong of ignorance compels the other. But the homes of the slaveholders, to the superficial looker on, often seemed happy. The ignorant creatures, with no aim in life, could have no ambition. The masters were usually humane, and there was often real affection between master and slave—very often great kindliness. There were merciful services from each to the other; there was laughter, song, and happiness in the negro quarters; but it was the happiness of ignorance. It was an edifice founded upon sand,—an unnatural condition,—and the violation of God's law brings its own retribution. The house was toppling; it had to fall. A picture of greater beauty lies nowhere in my childhood memory than the one at my grandfather's home. The older negroes had their comfortable houses, where each family would sit by their own great sparkling log-fires. The younger negroes were engaged, in the day-time, at the work of their master, while the children out in the sunshine laughed, played, and frolicked their time away. Like the lilies of the field, they were all without thought for food or raiment; indeed, of raiment they often had but little! They sang their plantation songs, grew hilarious over their corn shuckings, and did the bidding of their gracious master. Their doctor's bills were paid; their clothing bought, or woven by themselves in their cabins, and made by their mistress; their sick nursed; and their dead laid away,—all without any thought or care from themselves as to expense.

To the unthinking it seemed a happy picture; but where was the justice and where the mercy in such an aimless life? The one people with no thought; the other thinking only to keep the former in subjection. Perhaps it was God's plan to elevate the negro; who can tell? But the fruit was ripening, the time of the harvest was approaching. Our young men,—whom God made beautiful, and to whom he gave the power to grow into his likeness by deeds of mercy and humanity,—rapidly fell into debaucheries. Our colleges often turned them out from their walls dissipated. Our young farmers, not having the advantages of free schools, were ignorant and immoral. Society was on a false basis, and there was a sad want of honesty between men and women. Our young women, kept by the strictest surveillance from all opportunity for evil, were also shut off and out from usefulness and opportunity for work. Sunbonnets, veils and gloves were worn to protect the complexion. They were too modest to sing or read in public; and speaking or praying before an audience would have been breach of decorum. Reticence, modesty, and virtue formed the triple crown of a true and noble woman. They were kept in ignorance of the responsibilities and duties of womanhood, and were encouraged to be delicate and absurdly modest. They were simply toys. Innocent, beautiful, frail in girlhood, they were required to face the gravest problems of life as the wives of unreasonable and dissipated men. Many were the sweet young girls into whose dear faces my memory now looks, who with the trust and innocence of babes, gave their hands in marriage to these roués, and whose hearts and lives were wrecked, and whose premature aging and often death alone gave to the world the unwritten and unspoken agony of their lives. The slightest suspicion condemned a woman; but a man's barefaced immoralities were condoned, and he was received into the most elegant families, though known to be secretly immoral.

The public roads leading from our town often witnessed the spectacle of prominent men reeling on their horses as they rode to their homes. Fortunately, there was no drunkenness in our family, and to us a drunken man was the embodiment of all that was terrible and awful.

One of our intelligent farmers, at the close of "election day," was found to be too much intoxicated to keep on his horse. He was a man well-to-do, hospitable, genial, and sensible when sober. As the night was cold and dark, our father told his neighbors to leave him until morning at our house as they passed. He failed, however, to get to us first with the explanation; and when we saw three or four men bringing in the body of a man, we were very much frightened. We knew enough of drunkenness to be afraid of it. One of the bearers came to the door (which we had carefully and emphatically locked when we saw them coming) and said that old man —— was going to stay all night. We told him tremblingly to take the man to the kitchen; and when our father came, he was shocked to see his old friend sitting with our negroes in a stupor by the kitchen fire. He explained the matter to us, had the doors opened, and brought him in; where he was fed and cared for until the next morning. When the effects of the whiskey had passed off, he was (with some secret chagrin, let us hope) as much of a gentleman as anybody; and I suppose felt and tried to act, as he neared his home the next day where his wife, children, and negroes awaited him, as though he were living up to the full stature of a man. For it was no disgrace then to be besotted with whiskey, if chance or good friends prevented criminal conduct while drunk.

General Smith was an ardent advocate of temperance. Among his papers is the draft of a speech which he delivered in 1843 at a meeting to form a temperance society. In this he draws a vivid picture of a delicate wife turned out into the winter's cold by a drunken husband, and exhorts parents by their love of their children to further the movement. "This," he continues, alluding to the picture he has just drawn, "is no fancy sketch. A thousand, yes, ten thousand of such instances have occurred, and who among you can tell but this may be the case with your daughters. Is there then no appeal to you, you who sacrifice no pleasure, no wish? I know it is frequently argued that for *me* to join a temperance society is idle; *I* am not in the habit of drinking; *I* do not crave it; indeed, *I* do not even think of it unless some friend invites, and then only quaff the nectared poison to pledge my friendship to a friend. Fellow citizens, remember that he whose haggard look, whose bloated cheek, whose tottering tread, whose palsied limbs, whose loathsome and detested form announce the drunkard in his most detested shape, once too, like you, cared not for the accursed drop. . . . Go visit the dungeons and the cells in your prison houses, . . . ask what has brought them there. . . . The answer perhaps in almost every case is, Intemperance. Your example, then, fellow citizens, is everything; and who amongst you here would not join this society if by doing so you could avert the impending demon's grasp from one of your children, from one of your relatives, or from one of your acquaintances—or, indeed, from any fellow being? . . ."

CHAPTER IV

BUSINESS: THE MORMON WAR: POLITICS

(1835—1844)

Business ventures—The Mormon war of 1838—Appointed brigadier-general of militia—Political affiliations—Unwillingness to compromise his views—Elected justice of the peace, 1836—Unsuccessful canvass for the legislature, 1836 and 1840—Whig rejoicing at the election of Harrison—Application for federal office—Effect of President Harrison's death—Appointed receiver of public moneys at Springfield, Mo., by President Tyler—His relations with Tyler managers—Removed from office by President Polk.

In the life of this vigorous young community—a life sound and healthy at the core, though tainted with the plague spot of slavery and its attendant ills—the subject of this narrative played a conspicuous part. In a new country where men are not hampered by the burdens of monarchical courts, hereditary aristocracies, and official priesthoods, the stimulus given by equal opportunities is such as naturally leads to the absorption of the mass of men in a struggle for wealth, as a means of social and material betterment. In the case of Mr. Smith a peculiar incentive was given. His father-in-law, General Thomson, was throughout life a practical, energetic man of business, trying his hand in turn or simultaneously at paper-, grist- and saw-milling, land speculation, contracting for government supplies, stock and produce shipping,—all in addition to his regular farming operations, and all attended with a good degree of success. Mr. Smith, too, from his early manhood actively engaged in business ventures. After energetically starting the farm hands in the spring, he would leave the farm work to his overseer, and his activity would find vent in some broader and larger enterprise. "It was a standing joke among his neighbors—and was true," says Mrs. Smith, "that he had to buy feed for his cattle and family every year. Nothing daunted by this, he would try again the next spring, with the same results."

Even before moving to Missouri he undertook one speculative venture, floating a lot of produce, in 1831 or 1832, in flatboats down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and disposing of it at Pensacola. After settling at Georgetown, Missouri, as we have seen, he was a partner in the contract for building the court-house; and though this was largely from public-spirited motives, the successful completion of the work is a mark of sound business capacity. In 1836, he acted as agent for his brother-in-law, Manlius V. Thomson, of Georgetown, Kentucky, in purchasing pork for the United States navy yards. In 1839 his correspondence with the same person shows that they were jointly engaged in business in

Columbia and Nashville, Tennessee. In 1840 he engaged with several partners in a venture to supply with provisions the Indians who had just been transported from further south to their new reservation in Indian Territory; and he took a large drove of hogs from Pettis county through the unsettled country to Fort Gibson, where they were disposed of at a good profit. At various times in the next eight or ten years we find him in similar speculations,—shipping pork and other provisions down the Mississippi river, seeking beef and pork contracts from the government, sending mules to the New Orleans market, and buying land-warrants issued to Mexican War volunteers.

Truly American in this respect, he was equally American in his disregard of his personal business considerations when higher issues were in question. This trait he exemplified, on a small scale, in the miniature civil war which broke out in Missouri in 1838—the so-called "Mormon War," whch resulted in the expulsion of the Mormons from the State. Joseph Smith, the "Seer, Revelator, Translator and Prophet" of this faith, had settled with his followers, in 1831, in the western part of the State, near the town of Independence. They had been driven thence, in a couple of years, and had then settled north of the Missouri river in Clay and Carroll counties; and from this region again they had been forced, and had settled in what became Caldwell county, where they built a town called Far West. In this and adjoining counties they are said to have opened two thousand farms; and the most conservative estimate places their number in Caldwell county in 1838 at four thousand persons, the whole population of the county being not more than five thousand. A thinly disguised hostility—founded in part, it was said, on the desire of some of the Gentiles to get possession of the Mormons' lands—continued to mark the relations of the two parties, until, in 1838, the attack of an armed mob (according to the Mormons' view) or of a sheriff's *posse*, in execution of due process of the courts (according to the Gentile version), precipitated an armed conflict. Once begun, the conflict was made the occasion to expel the Mormons entirely from Missouri soil. The militia was called out by Gov. Boggs; the Mormons resisted, and at first gained some slight successes. Then a proclamation was issued calling for volunteers from central and western Missouri; and in the face of the overwhelming numbers against them, the Mormons were obliged to surrender their arms, give up their leaders for trial, and withdraw from the State.

Blame for the outbreak of the struggle must be shared in fairly equal parts by Mormon and Gentile; but the tenets and practices of these "Latter Day Saints" were so obnoxious to the people of Missouri that, when the struggle was once begun, a wave of enthusiasm for the war swept over the State. In central Missouri the response to the call for volunteers was particularly marked. In Pettis county a company of cavalry was raised, and in this Mr.

Smith enrolled as a private, refusing any higher post. The company twice marched to Carroll county and back, and endured some hardships; it was not engaged in action, for the Mormon surrender took place the very day the Pettis county troop arrived in camp. The company was kept under arms for a month, after which it was disbanded. In order to be better prepared for future emergencies, Gov. Boggs reorganized the state militia; and George R. Smith was offered and accepted the position of Brigadier-General in command of the troops of Cooper, Benton, Pettis, and Saline counties. This organization was largely due to the fear that the Mormons would not quietly abide by their agreement. Though this fear proved groundless the militia organization was kept up for many years, meeting regularly on the "muster days," which not only served as occasions for drilling the troops, but as a means to facilitate social intercourse among the farmers of the sparsely settled country. It was from this commission in the State militia that Mr. Smith, in accordance with Southern custom, was given the title of General by which in after life he was universally addressed, both in public and in private.

General Smith's absorption in business did not prevent him from taking an eager and an active interest throughout life in political matters. By character, early training, and marriage connections alike, he was a liberal, if not a radical in politics; and we find him adhering, in every contingency, to that one of the two parties which, under various names, has always represented the more liberal, nationalizing element. At first a National Republican, he became a Whig when that party arose. When the Whig party broke into pieces on the slavery question, he became a member of the American or "Know Nothing" party. And when palliatives failed and the inevitable conflict came, he became a Republican in the later sense. Judged from the standpoint of principle, his political career was singularly consistent throughout. At every epoch he stood for a broad interpretation of the constitution; for a strong national government; for a policy favorable to banks, internal improvements, and manufactures; and for the Union as against the States.

Col. Richard M. Johnson—who, for more than a score of years was Representative and United States Senator from Kentucky, and was in 1837 chosen by his colleagues of the Senate to be Vice-President with Van Buren—was a relative of General Smith's wife, and lived on an adjoining farm in Kentucky. Mr. Smith was well acquainted with Colonel Johnson, and the story goes that just before the migration to Missouri, Johnson, who was an ardent Democrat, said to Mr. Smith: "Now, George, when you go to Missouri, if you will only turn your coat, and get on the right side of politics, you may one day become President of the United States."[1] This admonition, half serious, half jocular, no doubt, Mr. Smith indignantly resented. The story well illustrates his positive character, especially where principle was concerned. It was in large part this unwillingness to deviate one inch from what he considered to be the path of political probity in the advocacy of unpopular views, that cost him again and again the suffrages of his fellow citizens and led to his passing his life in comparative political obscurity.

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[1] An anecdote told by one of Mr. Smith's early school-fellows and comrades shows the young man's relations with the Johnsons, and at the same time is interesting because of its allusion to a once-famous poem. "When he [Smith] was acting I think as deputy sheriff of Scott county," says this informant, "R. J. Ward, a lawyer, legislator, etc., a

In 1836 Mr. Smith was elected justice of the peace, and the same year he was the candidate of the "Old Line Whig Party" to represent Pettis county in the legislature. Charles E. Cravens, the sitting member, was his opponent; and as the Democrats outnumbered the Whigs two to one in the county, Cravens was successful, though Mr. Smith made a spirited and creditable canvass. In the presidential campaign of 1840—in some ways the most remarkable one that our country has ever experienced—General Smith took an active part. In order to keep his party organization intact, though with little hope

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nephew of Col. R. M. Johnson and a very popular young man, gave a card and wine party during a term of court to all the lawyers, etc. George was invited; it was in the days of our youth. One Emmons was present, who had recently published a poem extremely eulogistic of Col. Johnson, to whose coat tail he was hanging. G. S. became very deeply interested in a game he was playing for amusement, and forgetful of his surroundings (many of the Johnsons being present) as he threw a card, exclaimed: 'Rumpsy, bumpsy, Colonel Johnson killed Tecumseh,' quoting from the poem of Emmons a sentence all were familiar with. So kind was his heart, so far was he from a willingness to wound those whose hospitality he was enjoying, he could scarce forgive his inadvertence." (John Allen Gano, Sr., July 16, 1881.)

of being elected, he again undertook to make the race for representative. As in the former contest, he was defeated, though now as before, his personal popularity and effectiveness as a public speaker enabled him to run ahead of his ticket.

Of the plans conceived and expectations entertained by the Whigs at the national capital, as the presidential election of 1840 drew near, Mr. Smith was apprised in the following letter, dated Washington, January 28, 1839, from Col. James H. Birch, one of the Missouri members of Congress:

> You will have seen from the papers that but little business of general interest has, even as yet, been transacted in either house of Congress, the subtreasury defalcations and the manner of renewing the official connection between the government and the "monster" [United States Bank] having occupied almost as exclusive attention within as without the walls of the Capitol. To compensate, in some degree at least, for this dearth of mere law-making, the Whigs have reason to congratulate themselves and the country that never in the history of the government has the triumph of an opposition been more signally exemplified, nor the waning prospect of an administration more unerringly denoted, than in the manner of appointment and subsequent composition of the Swartwout committee. Having every desirable facility for obtaining reliable information from the most eminent political sources and circles, I feel authorized to repeat that enough is known already to arouse and startle the honest-minded of all parties, and of itself to cause the overthrow of a dozen administrations having no stronger hold on the moral sense of their constituency than this one

has—particularly when the official development, which I have no doubt will be wisely evolved and spread before the country, shall place it beyond the power of the *Globe* or its allies to gainsay or fritter them away.

If, however, anything were still wanting to render more certain and indubitable the displacement of the corrupt and the corrupting banditti who have gotten hold of the government, it is gratifyingly furnished in the gradual abatement of the apprehensions heretofore founded on an anticipated rivalry between the respective friends of General Harrison and Mr. Clay.

It is now very generally conceded by the intelligent and reflecting portions of every personal division of the opposition, that sound policy but concurs with strict justice in indicating a magnanimous and strenuous effort in favor of rendering to the former distinguished citizen the honor, and to the country the advantage, of the single term to which he has publicly restricted his period of magistracy. Than Henry Clay himself, no man in the Union will be more advantageously availed of the successful fulfilment of this purpose. I have heard him and seen him with the other giants of the Senate, and while all things considered I regard him as the ablest and the noblest of them all, I am not only certain that his time is not now, but that it will as surely arrive in '44 as that General H. will judiciously administer the government during his term, and thus commend a continuation of Whig policy.

Mr. Rives of Virginia, and Mr. Talmadge of New York, are severally and most prominently spoken of in connection with the Vice Presidency, and as the Conservatives are now fully and fairly allied with us (at least so far as concerns the ejection of Mr. V. B. and the defeat of his leading

> measure) it is perhaps but evincing a proper spirit of reciprocity that the selection of the second officer be made from their ranks. Mr. Rives being the more eminent and able man of the two, and being withal a slaveholder, the propriety of presenting at least as acceptable a ticket as our adversaries in reference to this interminable excitement will be too apparent to permit any hesitation as to the most proper selection.

The news of the election of Harrison caused widespread rejoicing among the Whigs; for it was their first presidential victory, indeed the first election to that office for many years that had been carried by any candidate of broad-construction and nationalizing views. The sentiments of the Smith-Thomson connection may be gathered from a letter from Manlius V. Thomson, with whom Mr. Smith was usually in full political harmony. "On the subject of politics," he writes from Kentucky, January 18, 1841, "I think it must be admitted that we have given the 'Loco-Focos' [Democrats] the most awful drubbing that any party ever received, just about such a one as they deserved. You can't imagine how tame they are in Kentucky, especially in the neighborhood of the Great Crossings. Certain people are now quite polite to me, who were wont to be quite distant and cold. They even acknowledge I am kin to them."

Success achieved at the polls, efforts were at once made to procure the spoils of victory. General Smith first comes into this movement late in November, 1840, as the recipient of a circular letter from the Tippecanoe Club of Howard county, urging that the Whigs of Missouri, in behalf of Colonel J. H. Birch, the chairman of their State Central committee, try to secure for him the position of Commissioner of the Land Office at Washington. This was expected to prove "one of the most effectual means of appropriating and improving the victory, even in Missouri," as it would materially assist the languishing Whig cause in that State by placing "the club of Benton in our hands." The letter was sent to General Smith's individual address, rather than to that of the local Whig organization, "as well to avoid the espionage of the post-office, as from the conviction amongst the friends of Colonel B. that it could not be sent to any gentleman in your county, more likely to give it that necessary and prompt attention and direction, without which its object, and our object, may be defeated."

Mr. Smith was already on terms of political intimacy with Colonel Birch, as is evidenced by letters received from him during the years 1839 and '40; and he willingly furthered the latter's application by all the means that lay within his power, as is shown by the following letter:

Fayette, December 3 [1840].

Dear General: Returning yesterday evening, I met your most kind and flattering letter "per Judge Brown," and regret that the hurry and complexity of my engagements will not permit me to write you a long and "good letter" of thanks for the past and promises for the future. Surely no man has better, more indulgent, or manly-minded friends than I have "the State over"; for I have met with nothing but kindness and co-operation in reference to this design of associating me with the administration at Washington. Believe me, my dear friend, a recollection of this, and a desire, which has now ripened into a passion, to see Missouri throw off the bad men who have trodden on her for years, will stimulate me to be "more than myself" in whatever department of the public service may be made acceptable to me.

Be pleased to make to General Thomson my most grateful acknowledgments for the kindness and confidence implied in his letter to General Harrison; and add that the service will be complete if, when I am in that position in the administration in which my opinions will be called for in reference to men and measures in Missouri, I may have, from time to time, the preliminary advice of such men as he and yourself. I shall expect this, particularly, in reference to all local appointments. In reference to you yourself, personally, I hope I need not protest my readiness to serve you—in any proper manner.

Your kindness in showing the letter of the club here to General Thomson, and his kindness in writing to the President, suggests the practicability of your being able to serve me still further in a similar way. Many of the letters I have are from gentlemen in different parts of the State to their friends in one or the other House of Congress, in speaking of and urging my association with the administration in such terms and by such arguments as are dictated by their feelings and their judgment. You may have some such friend, General Thomson may have some, and numerous acquaintances may have such. Such letters, as they will evince the strength and generality of the desire of the Whigs of the State, will go far to sustain me against any rivalry with which I may meet. Will you be good enough to turn your eyes a little in that direction? Let any letter you may procure to be written to members be sent direct to Washington, and be kind enough to advise me, by letter to that place, who has been written to, and by whom. Letters to General Harrison will be surest to reach him at Cincinnati. I believe I have already said that I shall start in ten or twelve days, taking Cincinnati and Frankfort in my route. If you have time, I will be pleased to have a line from you before I start.

Very truly, your friend,
J. H. Birch.

Into the contest for office, Mr. Smith himself entered. More than two years before, he had written to his Democratic friend and former neighbor, Vice-President Johnson, asking his influence to secure the position of Receiver of Public Moneys, or of Register of Land Titles, at Fayette, Mo. In both particulars his application had failed, owing to the reappointment of the incumbents; otherwise, wrote Colonel Johnson, "it would have given me pleasure to have recommended you for either office." Now that his own party was in the ascendency, he again sought office, and joined his fortunes to those of Colonel Birch. The following passage from a letter of Manlius V. Thomson, under date of January 18, 1841, illustrates the efforts made by General Smith in response to the foregoing letter, and the prospects at that time entertained of their joint success:

Colonel Birch passed through here about the first inst. and I gave him seven or eight letters to Mr. Clay and our other members of Congress. So far as my influence can go, it shall be exerted on his behalf to the fullest extent. And in so doing I suppose I am promoting the views of yourself and Morton in reference to the land offices spoken of. He has concluded to prefer his claims to be Commissioner of the General Land Office, and in case of his appointment (which I think is quite probable), I judge you can have matters pretty much your own way in regard to the offices which you desire.

I have not written to General Harrison, Mr. Clay, or anyone else in reference to your wishes on the subject, because it is understood that General Harrison is decidedly displeased by such early solicitations for office, and consequently I should have injured your cause by writing to him. Besides, there is no use in writing to Mr. Clay and others on the subject until they can approach the President advantageously. When the proper time arrives, I will write not only to General Harrison, but Mr. Clay, Mr. Crittenden, and others who will probably be able to exert some influence in your behalf. It would be well for pa to write to General Harrison, too, as he is fond of his old comrades in arms, and especially those of Johnson's regiment, who were disposed to do him justice in the late canvass. I know that he recollects pa well, because he made inquiries of me about him and I told him where he lived, what his politics were, etc., etc. You had better write yourself to John J. Crittenden, too, as you were well acquainted with him, and he will probably remain at Washington as Attorney-General. I do not doubt he would promote your views with great cheerfulness. Let all your letters reach Washington about the first of March.

> Webster will be Secretary of State, Ewing Postmaster-General, the other Cabinet ministers not yet certainly agreed on. Mr. Clay will take no office, but will remain in the Senate for a year or two, for the purpose of adjusting the tariff, passing his land bill, and establishing a National Bank. He will then retire and be a candidate for the succession.

President Harrison's death just one month after his inauguration carried with it the downfall of many hopes, and seriously affected those of Colonel Birch and Mr. Smith.

When Tyler succeeded to the presidency it became a question what his attitude would be toward Whig measures and Whig party rewards. What that actually was, is well known; but as illustrating the effect of the change on Mr. Smith's prospects of securing office, the following letters may be cited:

The first is from M. V. Thomson, and is dated February 18, 1842:

> Soon after I reached home, in the month of September, I renewed my solicitations to the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Crittenden, Governor Morehead, and others, in reference to your views about the land office at Springfield, and when I left in the month of October for Mississippi, I had not received any replies to my letters. Indeed, I have never yet had an answer from any of them except Mr. Morehead, who informed me that Tyler had wholly separated himself from the Whigs, and that neither he nor any person who held to the true Whig faith could exercise any influence with the President or heads of departments, or procure the appointment of any friend to an office. Efforts were

> made as long as it was thought they would do any good, and then the President was given up with contempt and scorn. Since the date of your last letter, and since I have been at Frankfort, I have made another effort to get you the Springfield office through the agency of Judge Underwood and C. A. Wickliffe. I wrote to Underwood myself, and got Colonel Hodges of this place, who has always been a particular friend of Wickliffe, to write to him. Judge U. writes me that he fears he can do nothing for you, as he is not in favor at court; and Mr. Wickliffe has not replied at all. The Judge will, however, do what he can, but candor compels me to say that I think the case rather hopeless. Nevertheless, I shall continue to look after the matter and accomplish your object for you, if possible.

The second letter is from John Wilson, one of the regular Whig leaders of Missouri in this period; it is dated at Fayette, August 4, 1842:

> I am at home again [he writes], after an absence of eight months. I have, of course, lost the run of political affairs in our State. Indeed, from all I see it were better so to be at present, both as to State and national politics. Things are all going to the d—l; as to whose fault, that is a different question. I spent much time last summer and fall at Washington during the fiercest contest for political ascendency ever fought in the Union by the leaders of that contest. I was an eye-witness, in fact to a slight degree an actor. I gave all my aid, until the second veto, in favor of a reconciliation of the Whigs and the President; that desirable result would have been effectually secured but for a *coup de main* of the Locos in going in a *body* to worship (as it appeared) him. He being a weak

and vain old simpleton, this made him believe that he was the first of mankind; and from that day he resolved on a course, as self-willed as it is dishonorable, of leaving his friends who placed him there; and thereby has rendered himself not only a disgrace to the station which he fills, but dishonorable to him as a man; and when he has found out that both parties scorn such a traitor, he recklessly administers the government on principles more dishonest and disreputable than has any other man in the nation. I am glad to learn that there is some probability (for I fear it is only probability) of your getting the land office at Springfield. If I can serve you in any way in the matter (except going to the President—for that I would not do, as I consider him a knave), command me. You know I have not been a very strong Clay man for years, although as to Mr. C.'s leading measures I am and always expect to be with him; but now I see no other man around whom the friends of a National Bank and tariff can so well rally, and therefore I am for Clay. I have objections, and one of the most prominent is that he is grown very absolute and dogmatical, from long abuse. His patronage will, too, go into the hands of personal friends, so I believe, and these are strong objections to any president. But then the country is now destroyed, and will so remain if we get not a bank and tariff; and therefore as he is in my opinion most likely to succeed on these measures, I am for him, or any other good Whig who shall be taken up by the Whigs. I do not write to engage you in politics; for if you get that office, as I hope you will, it will be not only your duty, but I am sure also your inclination, to cease to meddle in elections.

In spite of the unfavorable prophecy in his brother-in-law's letter—colored doubtless by partisanship for President Tyler's chief antagonist, Mr. Clay—General Smith's prospects, as they turned out, were by no means hopeless. On June 14, 1841, before the breach between the President and the Whig members of Congress had become irreparable, Col. J. H. Birch was able to write Mr. Smith from Washington that circumstances continued to "justify the belief that everything I have recommended will be done—but as to how I am to come out myself there is probably more doubt." And again, under date of August 29—not many days after the veto of the first bank bill—the same correspondent wrote from Fayette as follows:

> As it was "all arranged" in reference to your appointment as Register at Springfield before I left Washington, I have looked for its official announcement every mail, and can only account for the delay on the ground that many older nominations have not yet been reached by the Senate. So it is; you may regard it as certain, together with all the other nominations I made to the President. In reference to yourself as well as the others, I did not hesitate to assure him that you would not embarrass him in the contingency which has been forced upon him, and which is so utterly repugnant to the spirit of the compromises at Harrisburg. I did not believe you were a Federalist, and that no matter what your individual opinions might be, you would at least act in that spirit of good faith to others who helped to fight the battle as to respect such at least as were matters of conscience with them, tho' not with you. I am gratified that I have heard nothing to induce

Birch, the following was added by his brother, Weston F. Birch, in a letter written June 22, 1842, on his way home from Washington:

> It is my decided and honest opinion you will be appointed. I talked to the President on the subject. He recollected you as having been presented by J. H. Birch; asked me to leave a written statement of my conversation, which I did, and handed to him from my own hands. He assured me he would give it his attention.
>
> When I see you I will tell you a good deal.

In spite of the favorable prospect thus depicted, when the appointment was finally made it was found that another "General Smith" was named for the place. This miscarriage, as it turned out, was due to mistaken identity; and when this fact became suspected, George R. Smith determined on a trip to Washington, in order to push in person his claims to some office under Tyler's administration. In this resolve he was supported by the advice of W. F. Birch, who wrote him (January 27, 1843): "You shall be let right square into all things, here and at Washington. I will inclose you such a letter to Ellis and Colonel Churchill as will make this sure." This promise was faithfully fulfilled; and Mr. Smith's reception at Washington was satisfactory, as is shown by a letter from W. F. Birch, dated March 24, 1843:

> I received your letter from Washington of the 4th [he says], in due time, and another from St. Louis of the 19th, by last night's mail. I am truly

delighted with the reception you met with from the President, and more with the answer he gave you in relation to your supposed appointment at Springfield. It turns out just as I expected and believed from the first. By the mail which will leave here on Monday morning, being the first, I will write to the President in no equivocal style, and you must permit me to hope that all will turn out right. The President, I am sure, will do justice in this and in every other case, when correctly informed.

The result of these efforts was that the office given the other General Smith was vacated, and then (April 15, 1843), General George R. Smith was at last given the post of Receiver of Public Moneys at Springfield, Missouri.

From the foregoing letters it would seem that the only obligations General Smith had taken upon himself in regard to Tyler were, in the first place, "not to embarrass him [the President] in reference to the Republican measures of his administration"—that is, not actively to oppose him because of his strict-constructionist interpretation of the Constitution; and secondly, in a general though undefined manner, to "promote the interests of his administration." In view of the circumstances of the election in 1840, these were pledges which a good Whig might consistently give. That election was fought and won by a combination of Whigs and anti-Van Buren Democrats (or Republicans), of whom Tyler was one, after a campaign in which questions of constitutional principle were sedulously kept in the background, in order that the latent differences between the two elements might have no opportunity to develop. President Tyler, therefore, though far from presenting a heroic or statesman-like figure, could not be accused of bad faith in entertaining strict-constructionist views on the questions of internal improvements, a bank, and a protective tariff. His views were what they had always been; and he could not be deemed morally blameworthy for acting on his convictions, now that chance or destiny had placed him in a position where some action was necessary. Moreover, Clay and the Whig leaders generally were clearly in the wrong in trying to domineer over the President as they did. Tyler was by no means alone responsible for the breach in the ranks of those who won the election of 1840; and it was quite possible for a good Whig so far to sympathize with the President, in the position in which he was placed, as to be willing to take office under him and pledge him that negative support to which alone General Smith was committed.

This, however, was not all that Tyler's satellites wished to extort from Federal officeholders. Almost from the moment of his accidental succession to the Presidency, Mr. Tyler was possessed of a desire to secure a second term, and his political managers and adherents consistently set to work to achieve this. Col. J. H. Birch seems to have been an exception to the rule in this particular. Immediately after his own appointment, in 1843, as Register of the Land Office at Plattsburg, Missouri, he wrote Mr. Smith (April 7) that he was "determined to live within the spirit as well as the decency of the rule respecting 'officeholders"; and that in his new office he would "have neither time nor inclination for politics." [1]

The active Tyler managers, however, were determined to secure for their chief the coveted second term, even at the cost of open and complete surrender to the Democrats; and to their attempts Federal officeholders were now exposed.

Dr. Silas Reed, Surveyor-General for Missouri, wrote General Smith from St. Louis, May 20, 1843, as follows:

> Your letter of the 19th April came to hand some time since, but found me so overwhelmed with official duties that I put off answering it from day to day, until this time. In the meantime, however, I took care to write our friends at Washington in your behalf, and so also did Mr. Ellis. I had a conversation with the President the day before I left Washington (21st March) relative to you, and said all it was proper for me to say. I have now to con-

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[1] Colonel Birch felt keenly the criticism which was passed by Whigs upon his political course. In a letter dated May 13, 1843, he wrote: "You know in the first place, that it was but natural for me to be a Tyler Whig, after my course on General Jackson's veto and my uniform opposition to any bank similarly constituted. It was fortunate, moreover, in the way of getting out some of the old officers and getting other and better ones in their places, that I did stand in the relation to the Whig party and also to the President that I did. Yet some of the disappointed and unreflecting are (most probably) doing all in their power to prejudice Crittenden and Morehead against me, notwithstanding all I have done and am yet doing (in my own way) to bring about a change of things in Missouri. . . . I should be deeply mortified, after having got several Whigs appointed to office in this State, and having several more on the road, to have my rejection by a Whig Senate thrown up to me by Loco Focos."

> any regret in reference to the pledge with which I stand connected with the President.
>
> Having faithfully fulfilled every duty growing out of my general or personal relations to the Whig party or its members, I feel the less embarrassed, in the split which has been forced upon it, in taking my stand where my education, principles, and sympathies all point out; and amongst the Whigs of the State I know none with whom it would grieve me more to differ than George R. Smith.

For some reason—perhaps owing to the increased tension between Congress and the Executive which followed the veto on September 9, 1841, of the bank bill—the appointment was not at this time made, nor was this particular office ever given to Mr. Smith. The failure, however, seems not to have been due to any dissatisfaction with his qualifications or politics, or to any cooling toward him of his political friends. Under date of December 11, 1841, Colonel Birch, then on the eve of a second departure for Washington, wrote:

> I know not how I may find affairs now in reference to the offices at Springfield, but I write to say that I shall continue to assure the President that your appointment, besides being proper and popular in itself, will by no means embarrass him in reference to the Republican measures of his administration.

Soon after his return Colonel Birch wrote again, under date of April 20, 1842, mentioning for the first time the office to which Mr. Smith was eventually appointed:

Shortly after my arrival at Washington it was agreed that Mr. Vaughan (an old neighbor and friend of the President), must have the Register's place at Springfield, and Mr. Cady (late of the *Bulletin*), that at Palmyra. Your own claims and those of Mr. Allen were under discussion for the Receivership at Springfield about the time your letter (under cover to Morehead) came to hand. This I forwarded (handed) to the President, along with an endorsement of my own, to the effect that you were one of the original nominations I had made, and that I would again call his attention to it as the time approached for filling the place. This will be either when Campbell is nominated for Congress (and resigns) or when his time expires, which will be the 21st day of January next. At one of these times, or the other, if you remain as denoted by your letter which I handed him, you will be appointed Receiver. Your other letter (from St. Louis) never reached me.

Whether it will be better for you to strengthen your application or not, I can only answer by saying that a man can not be too strong. I have told the President, in so many words, that you were able to promote the interests of his administration, and too honorable to accept (much less solicit, or permit your friends to solicit) an office from him, without having the concurrence of your judgment and feelings to do so. Unless contrariwise informed, I shall repeat this assurance to him when I again write (as promised) at the proper time. I have not yet deceived him in that respect, and I know you have too high and reciprocal a regard for your own and for my honor, to permit my assurance in any respect to be falsified.

To the encouraging reports given by Colonel gratulate you on being appointed as Receiver at Springfield, which is a most important, excellent, and honorable office, and if I do not mistake your character, I think you will satisfy the President and his friends that his confidence is not misplaced in your case. I hope you will stir them up in and about Springfield, and do not allow yourself to feel under too much restraint in the expression of your opinions in favor of the President merely because you have taken office. Your own good judgment will determine you how far it will be proper to go.

Let us know what the Register is about as soon as you become fully acquainted with his views and preferences.

If the President's friends are energetic and move discreetly, they will secure his nomination by the National [Democratic] Convention in May, 1844; and it is best to take a conciliatory course toward Calhoun's and Johnson's friends, as they will aid us in laying Van Buren upon the shelf.

We are, however, organizing a Tyler Democratic association here, and thus do all we can for the man we prefer, until after the decision of the National Convention.

I shall be pleased to hear from you often, and shall now have more leisure to reply promptly.

The following letter is from V. Ellis, who was editor of the *Old School Democrat* and a leading support of Tyler in Missouri; it is dated at St. Louis, June 3, 1843:

You can form no idea of the hurry and confusion I am in, trying to arrange my affairs to go East. I have fifty letters lying by me unanswered. I will see Dr. R. and converse with him on the subject of J. D. Hogan and Colonel Thomson as agents for the

Sioux and Osage Indians. I can not say what can be done; these are difficult matters to handle; we must have patience as well as hope.

Bear one thing in mind, that is that whilst I may not always find time to answer your letters promptly, I shall always note their contents, and do all that can be done to gratify your wishes. I have given you proof that I am not idle in matters connected with the President's interests. If things don't go right it shan't be my fault.

We have much to do in Missouri, and we have an artful foe to combat. Whilst our flag flies for Tyler and we keep his name always on our tongues, we must pull hard and strong for Johnson, in order to break down Benton. Johnson is the only man in Missouri who can carry this State against Van Buren and Benton., We must rally on him to help him to do this, and his friends will be available to us in the National Convention. We must go strongly for district elections of delegates to the convention at Baltimore. We must aid the Johnson men to elect delegates in the different counties in each electoral district as laid off last winter, to meet at some central point in the district and elect a delegate to the Baltimore convention in May, 1844.

I hope you will be able to extend the circulation of the *Old School Democrat* so far as to give light to the extreme border of the section in which you have jurisdiction! As I am acquainted with you and you only in that quarter of Missouri, I correspond with no one else in the whole Southwest. I will do what I can toward having your lands surveyed, etc., etc. I trust to you to have a talk with Haden and all others in your section.

The following extract from a letter of W. F. Birch to General Smith, bearing date May 29, 1843, may be appended by way of comment on the above letter:

> I hope you and Mr. Haden will make an exertion to circulate the *Old School Democrat* in the Southwest. Generally speaking, the President's course is imperfectly understood, and there is no means of explaining it so well as by the circulation of newspapers friendly to his position and principles. In addition to this, I fear the paper is published at a loss, and until a large subscription can be procured I have not hesitated to contribute in money—deeming it proper that several and not one friend should meet it, as Ellis is already poor and unable to throw away a single farthing.
>
> An effort is being made to cast odium upon all who hold office under the President, and this effort, induced by an improper spirit, I intend to combat by circulating and defending the principles and policy of the administration. When I do this, I defend my own position, and hurl back the anathemas attempted to be cast upon us all. In this I hope to have your concurrence.

Under date of July 5, 1843, marked "Private," Ellis again wrote:

> I am glad to hear favorably from Mr. Haden. Rumor says he is a Bentonian-Van Buren man. Such we can not have any fellowship with. I hope you are not mistaken in him. Benton's days are numbered. Van Buren has no chance for the nomination. Johnson will sweep Missouri and Illinois, and we must pull in that direction with all our power. Will Mr. Haden openly and unhesitatingly throw off Benton and go for Johnson? Johnson's friends will do "justice to John Tyler" when they got into conven-

tion. I am corresponding with him. Go with all your force for district elections of delegates to the Baltimore convention, and Johnson will help us break down Benton when his election comes on again. If we can get district elections of delegates we are safe. Benton will visit the Southwest to put things right in a few weeks. Arouse the people to the true consideration of his daring impudence in this matter! The Representative mistrust the people! That is a beautiful idea!

I do not know what can be done in the way of Indian agencies, there are so many applicants and so few vacancies. But communicate freely your wishes, and it shall not be my fault if things do not work right. Select Democrats in all cases, and such as are opposed to Benton.

The following letter from Dr. Reed, dated January 12, 1844, and similarly marked "Private," gives further evidence of the efforts made to force General Smith into complete political subjection:

I have at last reached your letter of the 6th September last, from Springfield. It was received during my absence at Washington, with numerous others, and filed away until I should find time to answer it and them. My absence of six weeks at a time, when most of my surveyors were returning from the field, and when both my quarterly and annual reports were required to be made out, threw me back so far that I was not able to overtake my current business, and discharge my duty to my private and political friends, until the time arrived for engaging in my next quarterly report at the close of last month. Even now I discover in my files before me letters some weeks older than yours, and which really ought to have been answered months since.

I dislike apologies, and my constant application to business ought to prevent the necessity of ever making any on the score of neglect or delay; but really the duties of my office are so arduous that I can not do justice to it and my family, without delays in my private correspondence.

I was the more anxious to write you, from the fact of having learned from some quarter that you either thought or had heard that I was unfriendly to you.

This is not so. Several attempts have been made to induce the belief that you were a Clay Whig in disguise, and possessed no Democratic views or sympathies; in short, that you were not a political friend of Mr. Tyler. To this I never gave ear, for the little I saw of you at Washington led me to believe that you would not stoop to the practice of duplicity, and that you were in reality what you professed to be. I still think so, and though the restless ultra leaders on both sides may endeavor to throw you overboard, I feel that you may be relied upon as an advocate of Old School Republicanism and a fast friend of our much abused and excellent President.

I must give you a word as to politics, though you can gather about as much as I can furnish you from the *Madisonian*. The endorsement of the *Globe* by the House has proved an insult to the President and his friends, which together with other outrages of the Van Buren men has determined all friends of the Administration to have nothing to do with the Baltimore nominee, if he be Van Buren. The discussions of the tariff question, and the probable consummation of a treaty with Texas for annexation, will break down M. V. B., and tend to bring forward Mr. Tyler, as the champion of Southern and Western interests, and of a practical system of national finance.

If the current of events this winter does not induce the Democratic party to nominate Mr. Tyler, I think his friends will insist upon his running as an independent candidate, and thereby carry the election to the House, an event greatly to be deprecated, but preferable to the despotic rule of an irresponsible Jacobin Club.

If Mr. Tyler will not allow himself to be run by his friends as an independent candidate, then they have only to stand still and let Van be beaten in a worse manner than he was in 1840.

There is much opposition making to Mr. Haden, and if he is true to the President, as I believe he is, you must tell him to keep himself right with the President in case he is willing to cut loose from the trickery and machinery that are likely to make M. V. B. the nominee.

In the meantime, I hope it will be in your power to aid us in sustaining the *Old School Democrat* and if possible extend its circulation in your vicinity.

Present my compliments to Mr. Haden and Mr. Joshua Jones, and say to Mr. H. that he is represented at Washington as the organ of Benton and the clique in the Southwest, but which I do not, of course, believe.

The two letters following are of interest as showing the extent to which the President's own household was concerned in the attempt to enlist Federal officeholders in support of his candidacy for a second term. The signature to the first letter is that of the President's son. The second is written on the same sheet with the first, and derives additional significance from that fact:

(Private.) President's House, 27 February, 1844.

Dear Sir: Accompanying this is a letter from my friend Mr. Abell in relation to his *Life of the President.* The work well merits the countenance of all our friends. It is compiled from the public records and may be relied on for its correctness. It is believed by us to be fully sufficient to refute the many charges made against the President reflecting on his personal character, and its circulation thro'out the country would constitute but a simple act of justice. Any aid, therefore, which you furnish Mr. Abell will be esteemed as a kindness. I wish, however, that you should do nothing inconsistent with your own sense of propriety, and hope you will regard the matter in a private and not a political light.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JOHN TYLER, JR.

George R. Smith, Esq., Receiver, Springfield, Mo.

Washington, February 27, 1844.

Dear Sir: A life of Mr. Tyler, containing his principal speeches when in Congress, and other public papers, messages, etc., compiled from the best possible sources, has just been issued by Harper & Brothers, New York. The volume is an octavo, of some 300 pages, finely printed, with a portrait of the President, and in view of the large sale confidently expected is furnished by the publishers at the low price of $50 per hundred. Believing that it will give you pleasure to assist in placing fairly and truthfully before the people the public acts of a man to whose lot has fallen more of calumny and misrepresentation than to that of any other in our country, I have no hesitation in asking that you will lend your aid, and procure that also of our friends in your quarter, to ensure a liberal dissemination of the work. Your order sent to me here for such number of copies as you may desire, with the amount of subscription, will be promptly supplied.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
ALEX A. ABELL.

(Note on opposite page): Please address me under cover to Hon. Thos. H. Blake, Commissioner, General Land Office.

It is difficult, owing to the absence of his own letters, either to ascertain General Smith's views of the justice of Tyler's cause, or the attitude which he assumed toward these overtures. On both points the following letter from his brother-in-law, Manlius V. Thomson, indirectly throws some light; it is dated October 22, 1843, from Lake Washington, Miss., where he had a plantation:

Your letter of the 2d inst. was received at George town, Ky., so shortly before I left for this place that I did not find time to reply. It is true as you suppose that we were a good deal disappointed at your not visiting us during either of your trips to Kentucky, more especially the last, as you had to pass us twice within a day's travel. I suppose, however, that your apology is a good one and that we must take the will for the deed, especially if you make amends when another opportunity offers by paying us a visit that shall count.

I am glad to hear that Tylerism has made no progress with you, although the Captain [Tyler] has thought proper to give you an appointment. It might be well enough, however, for you to be somewhat prudent in your expressions of disgust toward him before those who would report the facts to your injury. The Captain's time is short, but you had as well hold on to the end of his term, if you can. Colonel Benton's threat that your nomination should not be confirmed, will be entirely harmless if the matter is properly attended to. I have conversed with Crittenden and Morehead both on the subject, besides having written sundry letters to them. They will both endeavor to have the nomination confirmed. I shall write to one of them again about the first of December to remind him of the case; and it would be well for you to do the same in a modest way.

Mr. Smith was too good a Whig and too downright a character not to feel strong repulsion at the administration's attempts to lead or force Federal officeholders into the ranks of the Democracy; but this was no good reason why he, a true Whig, appointed after a great Whig triumph, should lay down his office. He continued to be a staunch Whig in politics, but during his continuance in office he doubtless acted with some of that caution now demanded by the rules of the civil service. It is certain that he continued to be recognized by the Whigs as one of their leaders in his section. As such, during the campaign of 1844, he was invited by several Whig clubs to deliver addresses before them; and in particular he was urged, as the representative of his party in Pettis county, to confidential correspondence with the St. Louis Clay Club, on all topics connected with the Whig cause in Missouri.

With the inauguration of a purely Democratic administration under President Polk, General Smith's tenure of office came to an end. As a Whig, his resignation was at once demanded and presented; and he was ordered to turn over the funds of his office to his successor.

Thus closed, for the time, his career as a Federal officeholder. His experience was not altogether a pleasant one, but he had gained much from it. He had widened the circle of his political and personal friends; he had more firmly established his leadership in his own section; and he had gained an experience of financial operations on a large scale. The future was to test the value of his experience and of his new political connections.

CHAPTER V

MAILING AND FREIGHTING CONTRACTS

(1842—1852)

Contracts for carrying mail, Jefferson City to Warsaw, and Warsaw to Springfield, 1842—Manner of life during this period—The mails made tri-weekly—Extra compensation refused him—Act for his relief, March 3, 1849—Further experience with mail contracts—Trip to Washington, 1846—Letters to his wife and daughter—Secures part of a government freighting contract to Santa Fé, 1849—Sketch of the Santa Fé traffic—Letter to his daughter, 1851—Cholera in the train, 1849—Retires from the freighting business, 1852.

While he filled the position of Receiver of Public Moneys at Springfield, General Smith was a busy man. In addition to his duties and responsibilities in that office, he superintended the management of his farm at Georgetown, where his family continued to reside; this necessitated frequent trips on horseback between that point and Springfield. He was also engaged in various business speculations, and these, with his political aspirations, made large demands upon his time and strength in the way of correspondence. But all this proved insufficient to consume his restless energy. To these activities he added yet another, and during the whole of his official term, and for some months before and after, he was actively engaged on contracts with the government for transporting the mails.

In 1842 he put in a number of bids for mail contracts in Missouri. Though he was unsuccessful on many routes, on two he proved to be the lowest bidder, and was awarded the contracts. These covered the first stages of the newly established route from Jefferson City to Fayetteville, Arkansas. The first stage led southwest from Jefferson City to Warsaw, in Benton county, and was about eighty miles in length; the second led an equal distance almost due south from Warsaw to Springfield, the capital of Greene county, where was the land office in which General Smith was Receiver. The contracts commenced on the first of January, 1843, and terminated on the 30th of June, 1846. The mail was to be carried twice a week and back, in two-horse post coaches, and the compensation for the service was to be $1,400 and $1,200 a year, respectively.

The region through which these routes led was a sparsely settled prairie district, and several of the counties into which it is now formed were not yet organized. When General Smith made the first survey over the proposed route he found it necessary to plow a deep furrow, a good part of the distance, to serve as a trail for his carriers; and this line became the chief public road between the points named. Besides carrying the mails, the stages served also to transport passengers.

Of General Smith's activity in this venture, Mrs. Smith writes:

The same indefatigable energy in business characterized him in this as in all other efforts to make something more than the mere living at farming to which even the most ambitious of our citizens were restricted in that day, hemmed in as they were by the waste of country that separated them from the Missouri river, by which alone they could find a market for their crops. And the same ardent devotion to his little family shone out, if possible, with more than its accustomed force during this time, when storm and tempest, cold and heat, day and night alike, might find him in the saddle, either going to his business at Springfield or returning to his Georgetown home. My mother's health was frail, and she did not wish to leave her parents at Georgetown. With a keen sense of the responsibility resting upon him, both in his business and domestic relations, our father braved all to be with her, regardless largely of food, sleep, or comfort. While others slept by comfortable fires shut in from the wintry blasts, he was riding through dark and dangerous places, through wide uninhabited districts, often lost in the trackless prairies, over which he had to pass for miles and miles without a glimmer of light, excepting at long intervals a flicker from some log-cabin window, or the gleam of a friendly star stealing out for a moment through broken rifts of cloud that hung darkly above. At such times, reaching home at midnight, or in the "wee sma' hours," his voice was tremulous with anxiety until reassured by the actual grasp of our mother's hand, and her voice telling him that all was well with herself and her little ones. Then shaking off the snow or the sleet from his heavy boots, overcoat and hat, doffing his leggings and the long comforter that was often fastened by icicles to his beard and hair, he would sit by the open log fire recounting in happy mood the incidents of his trip. The dangers now were trifles and the trials light as air. Then he was a happy man; and while Henry, the faithful slave, was attending to the jaded horse at the stable, our father would grow eloquent before the warm fire, in painting to his wife and children, aroused from their sleep by his entry, the better times that were in store for them. All toil was forgotten, and his sleep after such a trip would be sweet and undisturbed.

Mails twice a week proved too infrequent, and the Postoffice Department was importuned, in 1844, to make these routes tri-weekly. This fact, and the appearance of a rival competitor for General Smith's contracts, led the First Assistant Postmaster General to write, under date of May 7, 1844, as follows:

> Otho Hinton, of St. Louis, Missouri, proposes to transport the mail on routes from Jefferson City to Springfield, Missouri, three times a week, at present pay. Notice of this proposition is hereby given in order to inform you, that unless you will give equal service without additional pay, the Postmaster General will transfer the routes to Mr. Hinton. Please advise us of your decision without delay.

This letter was not received by Mr. Smith until June 16. That same day he wrote the Department in reply, saying:

> I have understood before that Hinton was making some efforts to get my lines. Sooner than I will give up the line to him, I will carry it at the same price ($2,600) three times a week.

This letter was construed by the Department to signify his consent to perform the additional service without increased compensation. A third trip each week was accordingly ordered by the Department, and was regularly made by the coaches of General Smith, from the 15th day of August, 1844, to the expiration of his contract with the close of the month of June, 1846. General Smith, however, did not consider that the Department had the right to demand, nor that he had legally consented, that this extra service should be rendered without extra pay; and he made application for additional compensation for this work, which was rejected by the Department. Then General Smith carried the matter to Congress; and finally, after much trouble and delay, a joint resolution of the two houses was, on the very last sessional day of President Polk's administration, passed and signed granting him the sum of $780 "as full compensation for carrying the mail once per week oftener than originally contracted by him" on the routes in question during the period named.[1]

Twice again General Smith was concerned in mail contracts, and in each instance the connection brought him vexation and annoyance. In December, 1850, the death of his friend and business associate, James Brown, of Georgetown, threw upon him a good deal of labor in arranging for the settlement of the mail contract from Independence, Missouri, to Salt Lake City, which Mr. Brown held in connection with S. H. Woodson, of Independence. In this matter General Smith seems to have been concerned only as a friend of the family; but about the same time he again had experience as principal in mail contracts. Some months before, he bid upon and was awarded contracts for the following routes, all for a period of four years: Jefferson City to Warsaw, 82 miles, tri-weekly; Boonville to Pisgah, 27 miles, weekly; Boonville to Versailles, 46 miles, twice a week; Boonville to Independence, 120 miles, tri-weekly; Marshall to Warrensburg, 50 miles, weekly; Lexington to Harrisonville, 50 miles, weekly; Warsaw to Wagonsville, 80 miles, weekly; Warsaw to Oceola, 28 miles, twice a week.

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[1] **House Report No. 717, 29th Cong. 1st Session, Vol. IV; House Report No. 103, 30th Cong. 1st Session, Vol. I; and Act approved March 3, 1849.**

By the time the award was made, General Smith had changed his mind about the contracts for some reason, and did not wish to execute them; but the Postoffice Department insisted that the work be performed in accordance with the bids he had entered. He was obliged to accept the contracts, and apparently to execute them until he could find some one to take them off his hands. It was not until June 5, 1851, that he was rid of the last of them.

In April, 1846, General Smith made a second trip to Washington, on business connected with his mail contracts. His wife accompanied him to Cincinnati, where she remained for medical treatment until his return. The following letter from General Smith to her at that place, and her reply, are of especial interest for the light they throw on the deep and abiding affection which bound together husband and wife:

Cumberland, Md., 24th April, 1846.

My Dear Wife:

I have just reached this place, and will take the cars at 8:00 o'clock to-morrow morning for Washington. If I but knew that you were well I should be contented; but as it is, I must permit my gloomy forebodings to distract me until I can hear from you. I had only left Cincinnati a very short time before I was wretched because I did not caution you against taking too largely of lobelia, and prostrating yourself with it. You know how it affected you last summer. . . . Do not continue the steaming too long; take it by degrees, and when you find that you can stand it (but of this I would be sure), then carry it farther. If you find that it weakens you, I would not take the steam. I think you will derive much benefit from riding out every day. Dr. Curtis can make an arrangement for you by which he can secure a carriage for you daily; that will not cost much. I have said this because I know you will be disposed to economize,—perhaps too much economy. Don't confine yourself, but take exercise, either on foot or in a carriage. Write to me every day or two and let me know how you are getting along. I shall be miserable until I hear from you.

I had a wretchedly disagreeable trip up the Ohio. We left ten minutes before the Caucasian, a boat that has been running in opposition to the Messenger (the boat I travel on) for some weeks. It was a race from the instant we left until we reached Wheeling. Both crowded with passengers, burning tar, rosin, coal, etc., and raising steam as high as their machinery could bear. I expected one or the other to blow up every moment; they went safe to Wheeling, but they will not go many trips more. Some accident will happen to one or the other before they will be satisfied. You can form some idea of how they did, when I tell you they burnt tar, rosin and coal, from Cincinnati to Wheeling. It was said (whether true or not I do not know) that the Caucasian burnt several barrels of rosin. I would not travel on either again.

I have had a pleasant trip over the mountains and a very pleasant company,—three ladies and three gentlemen from Lexington, Kentucky, one of them the Rev. Dr. Bascom, with whom I am much pleased.

To-day I have meditated much upon the events that have occurred in the last nineteen years. This is the anniversary of our wedding day. Nineteen years ago I was by your side, happy in the enjoyment of her I prized above every human being upon earth; happy in anticipation of a bright and joyous future. Now I am on the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains, on the head, the very headwaters, of the Potomac, separated by nearly 1,000 miles. Then I was with friends and so were you, you under a father's roof; now both are among strangers, and separated from friends, the one seeking health, the other how he can best provide for means of administering to the wants and comforts of a family. O how devoutly I pray that your wishes may be gratified!

But I must close; it is near midnight. Take care of yourself, and let me hear from you as soon as possible. Had you not better write Solon and let him come and attend to you in my absence? I want you to make up your mind to go to Kentucky on our way home; it is but a day's travel to Georgetown.

I can not say when I will be in Cincinnati; in my next I will be able to inform you. Give my love to Marion and Ev.; tell them to write to Betsy and Sarah and give them minute details of their trip. Until you hear from me again, I remain,

Your affectionate husband,

G. R. SMITH.

P. S. I am so tired after being jolted that I can hardly write.

The following is Mrs. Smith's reply:

My Dear Husband:

I read your letter with mingled emotions of pain and pleasure, joy and regret. Your affectionate allusion to the day of our marriage created feelings altogether indescribable. Happy indeed am I to find that those early impressions (though too bright, too ephemeral to last) still retain a place in your memory! Delusive hope presented to your mind a cloudless future, a long life of undisturbed happiness, but alas! your fondest hopes were blasted, your brightest prospects faded, the joyous visions of youth too early vanished, leaving in their stead the sad realities of life. But should we not look upon our reverses as blessings in disguise? In what better way could we be brought to a sense of our dependence upon a Supreme Being? "He chasteneth whom He loveth"; should not this be consolation under all circumstances? Yes, with an unwavering reliance upon the wisdom and goodness of God, we may triumph over the darkest trial; we may rejoice in the hour of deepest gloom.

I hope you will not allow yourself to suffer from unnecessary apprehension. We are doing very well. You need not disturb yourself about my taking too much medicine; my fear is that I will not get enough. If you think it best to stay until the 24th of May, do so.

I have not heard from the children; expecting a letter daily. You must not be disappointed if I fail to write as often as you requested. Ev. and Marion are very well satisfied here; but are willing to go home whenever you return.

My delicate health is sufficient apology for this scribble. I know my husband will make all due allowances. Write whenever you can find time. Your devoted wife, MELITA A. SMITH.

The following letter to his daughters gives some additional details of General Smith's Washington trip. It is noteworthy for the keen interest which he here manifests in the railroad and the telegraph,—the one just taking its first westward strides, and the other but new-born,—and for the affectionate care which he shows that his daughters may improve every opportunity for intellectual advancement and culture:

Washington City, 26th April, 1846.

My Dear Children:

I promised you in my last that I would write to you from Cincinnati if we reached that point safely, but upon our arrival there I neglected to do so, for several reasons; and indeed my stay there was so short (two days) that I hardly had time.

We had a pleasant trip from St. Louis; the rivers were in fine shape. We left St. Louis on the date of my letter (I wrote on board the steamboat) and arrived in Cincinnati on Sunday morning, the 19th. Your mother was not much alarmed and she slept finely. We had a large number of passengers, which is rather unpleasant for steamboat or indeed for any kind of traveling. At Louisville we parted with Mr. Watkins and his sister. Upon our arrival at Cincinnati, I left the ladies on the boat and went in search of Dr. Curtis. I was agreeably surprised when I found him; he is quite a pleasant, accomplished gentleman, differing very much from all the steam doctors I have ever seen. He consented to take us in as boarders, and the ladies I left at his house. I am very much in hopes he will restore your mother.

After dinner on Monday I hired a carriage and driver, and we took a ride through a portion of the city and out on the hills on the north side of the town. Here we saw some of the most beautiful country residences I have ever seen; our whole company was delighted. Upon our return we had as fine a view of the city as perhaps we could have had from any of the enormously high hills with which Cincinnati is surrounded.

The town, as you know, is situated on the north bank of the Ohio and is built on the first and second banks of the river, forming a beautiful bottom of some several hundred acres of land. To give you a more definite idea of the town, I will remark that the distance to the foot of the hill from the river is about one mile at its greatest width. This hill lies in a circular form, commencing at the upper part of the town almost at the water's edge, and terminating in the same manner some distance below. The distance from the upper point of the hill, inclosing the bottom to the lower, is perhaps four or five miles. The ground then upon which the town is built is somewhat in the shape of a half-moon, and contains a population of some 75,000 or 80,000 persons. Here are some princely fortunes, and not a few of them; you may readily suppose, then, there are some magnificent buildings both in town and country. I think there are more fine houses in this place than any I have ever seen. If you except the public buildings of Washington City, nothing I have ever seen can compare with them.

I left our company on Tuesday (all delighted with their domiciliation) for this place. I took a boat that has been racing all the season with another boat that left just as we did, and they raced from there to Pittsburg; I left at Wheeling. Such fizzing and whizzing of steam I have never before witnessed, burning tar and rosin and raising the steam as high as the machinery could possibly bear. It was said the boat we ran against burnt eighteen barrel of rosin; I suppose we did as much. I will never again, if I know it, travel on boats that are racing. One of these boats will, if they don't stop their foolery, blow up.

I had a very pleasant trip over the mountains, traveling altogether in daylight. At Cumberland, on Saturday morning, I took the cars. We left at 8 o'clock and a few minutes to 12 we were at Harper's Ferry, a distance of ninety-seven miles in four hours; pretty rapid, that. From Harper's to this place, 110 miles, we did not travel quite so fast, as they have a different rail; we were six hours. Upon this end of the road they have the old-fashioned flat-bar iron, but upon the other end they have what is called the T-rail, taking its name from the resemblance of the rail to a T. You will readily understand what the T-rail is, when I tell you that an impression made with the end of the bar, upon something soft would leave the shape of a very heavy short T.

To-day (Sunday) has been a gloomy, dark, cold, rainy day. After breakfast I walked up to the Capitol. Its magnificence I can not describe; it so far surpasses anything I have ever seen that I have nothing with which to compare it; the State-house at Jefferson City being as a mean log-cabin hut to this. The pleasure grounds around it are large, interspersed with wide gravel and paved walks of polished stone, with marble reservoirs of water in which are to be seen the gold-fish that seem to be domesticated, and other kinds of fish. The whole ground is covered with trees, shrubbery, and flowers. This of itself is worth a trip to Washington, and as soon as you finish your education I want you to visit the East. But when you do I want you to be able to converse fluently upon all subjects and with the most distinguished men and women, for you will meet them. How important, then, that you should apply yourselves diligently and energetically to your studies. Now is the time for you to acquire information; and however tempting society may be now, you should resolve and determine that, let others do as they may, for yourselves you will acquire, if in your power, all the knowledge that is possible for you to obtain. To do this you will find it greatly to your advantage to divide your time, apportioning certain hours to your books and others to recreation, and at least eight to sleep. Dr. Franklin said eight hours for sleep, eight for study, and eight for labor.

Tell your grandpa that the whole city is full of mail contractors,—more, it is said, than was ever here before; and what will be the result of my efforts I can not say. I have three days to make out my bids. I shall endeavor to learn all I can and do the best I can.

Monday, 27th.—Tò-day I went to the Patent Office; it, too, like the Capitol, is a magnificent building, as indeed are all the public buildings in this place. In this office is a collection of almost everything you can think of, and of all countries.

Here I saw the uniform worn by General Washington, a part of his tent and camp equipage, stuffed skins of animals, fowls, etc., of every climate and country, many of which I never saw before. Some of the sea monsters were to me particularly interesting. Fowls of various kinds, among which are certainly some that surpass in beauty anything I have ever imagined. Here, too, are the various inventions (models) of our citizens, from the most simple to a steam-engine. I also visited the office of the telegraph. This invention unquestionably surpasses all that has ever yet been discovered, or perhaps that ever will be. I remember that a remark has frequently been made of the wonders of steam in annihilating space, and bringing two countries remote from each other almost to the same vicinity. It has certainly done wonders in this way, and if our fathers could rise from their graves they would certainly be astonished at our improvements in this science; but the magnetic telegraph is *ne plus ultra* of our age. With this, not only countries but worlds are brought in immediate contact; and you could converse with an absent friend (if the lines could be extended) as readily and almost as speedily in China as you could if they were in the same room. The estimate is that it would take the twentieth part of a second to communicate intelligence around the globe. I gave the manager my name to be sent to Baltimore; which he did, and the answer returned in less than one-half a minute. I have purchased a book which will give you much information upon this subject.

I think I will come home in a few days. Dr. Watson will receive the appointment of Register at Clinton in the place of General Monroe. I have not yet heard from home since I left.

Yours affectionately, G. R. SMITH.

Before he was finally rid of the last of his mail contracts, General Smith had become engaged on Santa Fé freighting contracts for the government. It was, perhaps, the growth of his interests in this direction, demanding all of his surplus time, energy, and capital, that led him to seek relief from the mail contracts, as above related.

The history of the traffic by the old Santa Fé trail between the western parts of Missouri and the entry ports of northern Mexico, constitutes an interesting and romantic chapter in American history. Beginning in the adventurous wanderings of hardy pioneers, undertaken almost contemporaneously with that expedition of Lewis and Clarke (1804-1806) which for the first time made known the newly-purchased western country to the States, it was stimulated to a hazardous activity by the reports of the El Dorado in the Southwest brought back by Captain Pike, in 1807, from his exploring expedition to the upper courses of the Arkansas and the Rio Grande. After the liberation of Mexico from Spanish rule, in 1821, the trade was put upon a solid foundation, and thenceforth, for a score of years, was vigorously carried on. The profits of the trader upon his calicoes, domestic cottons, hardware, etc., were great enough, even allowing for the very considerable fall of prices in the latter half of the period, amply to compensate for the hardships and hazards of the trip. After 1831, the dangers and difficulties of the Santa Fé adventurer were much reduced by the establishment of a clearly marked trail through a better watered region, by the more efficient protection from Indians afforded by the Government, and by the better organization of caravans. Then came the friction between the United States and Mexico, growing out of the revolt of Texas, leading in 1843 to a decree of President Santa Anna closing the New Mexican custom houses. This stopped for a time the Santa Fé traffic; but the war which followed put New Mexico into our own hands. All customs restrictions were thus removed, and new demands were created for American goods by the establishment of garrisons at various points in the newly-acquired territory. The result was an enormous increase in the freighting business on the Santa Fé trail; and it was in this, as sub-contractor for the transportation of government stores, that General Smith was now, in the period of 1847-52, to be engaged.

In this new venture General Smith was associated for the greater part of the time with John S. Jones, a shrewd practical man of affairs, who made up for lack of education by his hard common-sense and his intimate acquaintance with frontier life. Owing to his wife's delicate health, General Smith was not able at any time to make the trip to Santa Fé in person. This portion of the work was usually left to others, while General Smith attended to the intricate financial details of the business at the Missouri end of the route.

Early in their partnership, the new firm entered into relations with the great freighting house of

Jabez Smith & Co., of Independence, Mo.; and during 1848-49, Smith and Jones, according to the accounts of the firm preserved by the family of General Smith, were sub-contractors on contracts held by that house. After May, 1849, a part at least of their freighting was under a contract with the government in the name of James Brown and William H. Russell, awarded April 30, 1849. By its terms the contractors were to transport "such stores as might be given to them" in wagons from Fort Leavenworth, just across the Missouri boundary in the Kansas country, to Santa Fé; the compensation being fixed, according to the published report of the Quartermaster-General, at $9.88 [1] for one hundred pounds, "with the addition of five per cent. to the weight of bacon." Mr. Brown,—the same person for whose estate General Smith was soon to undertake the disposition of the Salt Lake mail contract, —received several government contracts for freighting to New Mexico, and on a number of these, as on the one described above, the name of George R. Smith appears as one of the bondsmen. It may be that in some of these contracts also General Smith was a sharer; in this one, at any rate, the intention to divide the work seems evident from the beginning.

The document given below indicates the share of Smith and Jones in the above contract:

An agreement between George R. Smith and John

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[1] Compare sub-contract below, where the compensation is fixed at $9.98.

S. Jones, entered into the 5th day of May, 1849, for transportation of freight from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé. The said Smith and Jones agree to divide the freight equally, if there should be as much as two hundred thousand pounds to the share of one-third part of the contract, the contract for freight being in the name of James Brown and W. H. Russell, they having two-thirds of the freight. Should there be an excess, or more than six hundred thousand pounds, then the said Jones is only to have one hundred thousand pounds, and the said Smith the remainder. It is further agreed that the said Smith and Jones are each to be liable and responsible for the delivery separately to the said Brown and Russell, and bear them harmless against any loss they may sustain. The said Smith and Jones are to receive nine dollars and ninety-eight cents per hundred pounds, and each to draw his money separately for his own freight.

The chief outfitting point for this traffic was Independence, a thriving town twelve miles from the Indian border, on the Missouri river. There, each spring saw gathered a motley crowd of Santa Fé merchants and freighters; Rocky Mountain traders and trappers; invalids seeking health from the pure air and rigorous life of a prairie journey, emigrants to the Oregon country; and, after 1849, throngs of eager, impatient men, of all ranks and conditions, seeking "a hazard of new fortunes" in the golden fields of California. In April and early in May, traders and wagoners began to flock into the land; and until the middle of May, by which date the short buffalo grass of the plains was sufficiently grown to furnish pasturage, the town was a scene of bustle and active business. Not merely Independence and its surrounding country, but the "whole State of Missouri, more or less," in the language of Alexander Campbell, who traveled through this region in 1853, was "much enriched" by the plains traffic. Supplies of bacon, flour, and other provisions were to be laid in; mules or oxen to be purchased and broken to harness; and the wagons—great "prairie schooners" made mostly in Pittsburg and covered with "Osnaburg"—were to be carefully loaded, each with its five thousand and odd pounds of freight, tightly and securely packed, so that the jolting of the rough ways might not displace the contents nor the storms and rains of the plains do them damage. Oxen or mules were used in preference to horses; and eight, ten, or even twelve animals were often needed for a single wagon. Mules were the better, owing to their greater speed and endurance. The tender feet of the oxen suffered sadly, unless moccasined with rawhide, from the slipperiness of the dry grass of the plains. Many, however, preferred the oxen, because of their greater cheapness, and of their superior strength when it became necessary to extricate the wagon from quagmires and quicksands, or to ascend steep river-banks, or to traverse broken hillocks. Beneath each wagon hung a log or timber for the repair of any part which might give way on the journey. With the exception of narrow fringes of timber along the streams, there were neither trees nor habitations of men for more than five hundred miles of the way. A water cask of at least five gallons capacity was also a necessary part of the equipment of each wagon, for along some portions of the route there was no water for many miles.

In the early years of this traffic, the trail—especially for the forty miles that lay between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers—was but poorly marked; and many tales were told of caravans lost in this waterless waste and perishing from thirst and the attacks of crafty Indians. After 1834, a year marked even in this region by copious rains, the trail was cut deep and broad, throughout its course of 800 miles, by the wear of wagon wheels and countless cattle hoofs. By 1849 the difficulties of the route were much reduced. Traders on the regular route were rarely molested by Indians, and losses of animals by theft or stampede were few. The way nevertheless was a long and weary one. The road abounded in quagmires and rough and difficult places; the rivers were unbridged, and the fords in many places treacherous. Drizzling, penetrating rains, and in some parts thunder- and hailstorms, were frequent. The buffalo, upon which dependence was placed for fresh meat, were a precarious reliance; and everywhere rattlesnakes abounded, in some places in colonies of tens and hundreds, a constant menace to men and animals.

The starting of a caravan called for great effort from General Smith in person. In the following letter we get a glimpse of him in the midst of the manifold preparations which preceded and accompanied the starting of such a train. The letter is also of interest for the light which it throws on the affectionate care of the father for his daughters, now become young ladies of sixteen and seventeen years. It is addressed to the elder daughter, at that time staying at Mt. Hope, Lafayette county:

Independence, 27th April, 1851.

Dear Bet:

Strange as it may seem, your mother and myself reached this place at 12 o'clock to-day. Your mother is perfectly delighted with the country and the town; indeed, it is enough to captivate any one.

I have come up to make arrangements to start my train, purchase my oxen, etc., etc. I have set the 20th next month to get off, but I am fearful I shall not be able to do so. We left home on Friday; your Aunt Sarah was with Sed, and will remain until we return. Your mother wants you to go to Marshall, if you have any disposition to do so. I think it will be the best, for with Mrs. Hutchinson you will learn more than with any one else. Before we left home a Mr. Clark called at our house and tuned the piano, played several tunes, and (what I suppose will be encouraging to you) he said it was the purest-toned instrument he had seen west of St. Louis. He told me you played and sang for him, and that your voice was equal to any he had ever heard; indeed, he seemed to be perfectly captivated with your singing, and said if you would cultivate your voice it was equal to any one's. Had you not better do so? We will leave here in the morning for West Port, and on Tuesday for home, where if we have good luck we will be on Wednesday. Your mother sends her love to your Aunt Marion and Mr. Gunell; my respects to all. I write in great haste.

Your father, G. R. Smith.

The years 1848-49 were marked by a terrible epidemic of cholera in many sections of the country, especially in the more southerly States; and from the visitation of this disease General Smith's caravan of 1849 was not exempt. The usual train of prairie schooners, loaded with army stores for Santa Fé, had been sent out in the early summer of that year; and soon after leaving Fort Leavenworth, the disease manifested itself. General Smith had not yet left the train to proceed on its way, after seeing it started, or else he was recalled when it developed that cholera was in the camp. At all events it was under his personal direction that the fight against the disease was made. In the weakened condition of the train it was impossible to continue the journey; the wagons were therefore corralled, and there the company remained until the disease had spent its force. In the nursing and care of the sick General Smith took charge, acting at once as physician, hospital steward, spiritual adviser and chaplain, all in one; and many were the testimonies to his unselfish devotion and Christian fortitude offered by the survivors upon their return to civilization. From a prescription dating from this period, which is preserved among Mr. Smith's papers, it would seem that chief reliance in combating the disease was placed upon pills compounded of calomel, opium, camphor, and cayenne pepper, and injections of a solution of sugar of lead, laudanum, and gum Arabic; this treatment, however, being supplemented by the use of mustard plasters, and blistering. Whatever may be the opinion of medical science to-day of such treatment, only two men of the whole train succumbed to the disease. After two or three weeks, the danger was mostly past. General Smith had now been absent from home for nearly six weeks, a very unusual occurrence; and knowing the anxiety to which his wife and daughters would be subjected by his prolonged absence, he determined to leave the train in charge of his manager, a Mr. Dan McClannahan, of Saline county, and return home. The strain put upon his system by the watching and anxiety, together with a slight attack of the disease itself, had been so great that he was left in a very weakened and debilitated condition; and had it not been for the fortunate meeting with a friend, who found him on the plains worn out and lying in the shadow of his tired mule, and furnished him with a fresh horse for the journey, the results of the adventure for General Smith would have been serious.

General Smith remained in the freighting business for about four years. Towards the end of 1852, he decided to quit it, and sold off his stock, wagons, and other outfit.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE

(1845—1849)

General features of the period—The Oregon treaty—Scott or Taylor for the Presidency?—The American party—Congressional canvass in Missouri—Smith's withdrawal from the race—Whig plans for the senatorship—Smith urged to become a candidate for Congress—Plans for Whig organization—Progress of Taylor movement—Candidates for State elections—State aid to internal improvements—The late date for the Whig convention—Difficulty in getting Whig candidate for Governor—Congressional canvass of 1848—The campaign for Taylor—Account of an interview with General Taylor—The latter's policy—Closing scenes of Polk's administration—Letters from Col. Manlius V. Thomson—Campaigning in Mexico—The election of Taylor—Hopes of political preferment—Projected removal to California—Death of Colonel Thomson.

The period covered by the years 1845-52 was a momentous epoch in the history of the American people. Within that period, in many lines of development, occurred the beginning of far-reaching changes. In the field of finance and industry, there was a general advance of the arts, due to the multiplication of labor-saving inventions; a rapid growth of the railway system and of ocean communication; the re-establishment of the independent treasury, and the "free-trade" tariff of 1846; the opening of new territories as a result of the Mexican War, and the discovery of gold in California—both contributing to a strong and steady drift of population to the West and Southwest; and a growth also in the demand for Federal and State aid to internal improvements. In the world of politics occurred the peaceable settlement of the long-pending disputes with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary; the annexation of Texas; the "War of Polk the Mendacious" with Mexico; and a repudiation of the Missouri Compromise in the Kansas-Nebraska act. This last was both cause and evidence of a new stage in a stormy struggle. Political parties now became more sectional, and the Protestant churches, with few exceptions, tended to split asunder into Northern and Southern sections.

The Whig party suffered most from these political changes. In the presidential election of 1844, an ominous lesson might have been read from the fact that the scale between Clay and Polk was turned by the 64,000 votes cast for Birney, the "Liberty party" candidate; a great number of which would probably have been cast for Clay, but for the declaration extorted from him that he favored the annexation of Texas. There was thus a portion of the people willing to put fidelity to principle, in the matter of the opposition to slavery extension, above all hopes of party success. Consciously or unconsciously, these represented the spirit of Garrison when he said, "I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard." Their importance consisted in the fact that they held the balance of power between the political parties. Both the old parties suffered through the growth of the new one; but the net loss of the Whigs was greater, because the defection of Free-Soil Democrats was more than balanced by the accession of Pro-Slavery Whigs to their opponents, while the Whig losses were accompanied by no compensating gains.

That slavery was a waning cause had not yet become apparent to the old party leaders. It was a difficult question, involving considerations alike of a moral, constitutional, social, and economic character. That the average man of affairs, especially if his interests and associations drew him to the side of the South, could not foresee the inevitable struggle was but a natural result of his position.

So the Whigs went their way, seeking to maintain a hold upon North and South alike,—condemning the haste, duplicity, and bad faith of President Polk in bringing on the Mexican War, but vigorously supporting it. Long before the war was ended they were committed to the nomination of General Taylor, a slave-holding hero of the war, for the presidency in 1848. Senators Clayton, Crittenden, and Mangum had pronounced Clay out of the question, and thenceforth it was merely a question of his successor. General Scott was at first the choice of the political leaders; but in the early summer of 1846 the name of General Taylor was presented by meetings held at Trenton and New York, "without regard to party limits or party questions." As he became more and more the popular hero, the movement spread; and it became apparent that Taylor must be the standard-bearer of the Whigs, and that the enthusiasm which his name everywhere evoked must insure his election.

In this campaign for Taylor, and in the organization of the Whigs in Democratic Missouri, General Smith, as his correspondence shows, played an active and conspicuous part.

The following letter from a leading Missouri Whig gives the gossip of the National Capital in 1846, the feeling over the settlement of the Oregon question, the relative merits of Scott and Taylor as candidates, the prospects of the tariff bill, the Democratic use of the spoils, the growth of the "American" party, and the attitude which Missouri Whigs should take towards that movement. The relation of the military situation to politics should be borne in mind; for though the war was of Democratic origin, the administration was obliged to stand by and see its chief laurels won by Whig officers. Taylor was thought by Democrats the least formidable as a presidential rival, and although he was Scott's junior in rank, preference was given to him over the latter in assigning commands. General Scott too was betrayed by the intrigues of the administration into writing an injudicious letter in which he used the phrase "a hasty plate of soup;" and the letter was welcomed and turned into ridicule by his enemies. Coupled with Taylor's brilliant successes and freedom from objectional personal qualities, this served to destroy what chance General Scott had of political advancement.

[John Wilson to G. R. Smith.]

Washington City, 10 July, 1846.

Dear Sir:

. . . I do not believe there is much that I can tell you here beyond what you may have seen in the newspapers. There is almost universal satisfaction with the treaty about Oregon. Even the "54-40's" breathe freer than they did, and the fun of the matter is that little Jimmie [President Polk] robbed himself of all its glory by calling upon the Senate, as if saying, "I promised to strike that fellow; I wish you would hold me." They did hold him; the result is, his backers brand him not only as a coward but a braggart traitor, and the bystanders laugh at him as a poltroon (in politics). The whole country rejoices that a perplexing difficulty of thirty years' standing has been so amicably settled.

You will have seen that "a hasty plate of soup" has totally put into the shade that pompous aristocrat and brainless aspirant for the Presidency who in 1840 thwarted the legitimate views of the Whigs, and who ever since has been a constant thorn in the side of the Whig party by continually thrusting forward his vapid pretensions *à la Mexique* upon the Presidency. Thanks so far to the results of the Mexican war, it has enabled the Whigs to shovel out with the *spoon* one who was likely to lead them to certain defeat. We are united again; for it is a fact, Scott was about to be taken up as a candidate when this Marshal "Tureen" dipped his hand into the dish with his "enemies behind." The result has been glorious, for it has produced the passage of the act that will clear us of all these sore-toed Generals, by dismission at the end of the war; which I fondly hope old Zack will entirely put an end to, as soon as he reaches Monterey.

The tariff, you see, has passed the House; this too will bring glorious results, for in the Senate all hands will have to show their hand for good or for evil. I was exceedingly afraid it would have been defeated in the House. The good luck that it was not gives me stronger evidence that Whig interests are decidedly in the ascendant; and such is my full conviction after an eight months' residence here with pretty good chances, as you know, to find out our prospects. Scott's downfall will be exceedingly beneficial to us; for he was not only in our way, but his friends (such impudent scamps for instance as Col. Webb of the regular army)—nothing would do them but he must be at once nominated, although very many even of those who had placed themselves so as not to object still felt that it was a forlorn hope. Now we shall wait results, while the public gaze will be at old "Rough and Ready." While the country is thus waiting in expectancy, results will present themselves, and we shall have a better chance to see who will make the most available candidate; for depend upon it, that is the word hereafter. We fight men who are governed by availables *in toto,* and if we expect to defeat them (they being in power) we must use an available candidate; when in, we may then use the proper candidate. Should Taylor meet with and play off another "chaparal" fight at Monterey, he will be President by acclamation. If he fails to get out as expected of him, he will not be in the way; and my present impression is that Judge McLean will be the man. . . .

My own opinion is, the tariff will be defeated. Yet you must not suppose I have any real knowledge on that subject you do not possess. At most there is a tie, as now appears, and it is believed the '42's will not give way. It is known and has indeed been admitted here by the organ, that there is a screw loose in the Senate; and you well know a single screw may jar the whole machinery. And a jar operates in favor of the tariff of '42 like the equal division of the court of error operates for him who has judgment below; so in this instance any disturbance in Loco faithfulness saves the tariff of '42. The suspected screws are indeed not a few, each particular faction pretending, and some of them with reason, to suspect some particular one. Cass, for instance, the leader of the forlorn hope of fifty-four-forties; how can he get a nomination with Pennsylvania against him? And how easy it is for him to show that only for the wool even New York would be dead against the new bill. He, of course, could go the whole on the wool and sustain Pennsylvania iron, coal, etc.—Haywood, for instance. They of North Carolina are beginning to feel their mines and even manufactories are considerable now, and will be greatly increased. And then the war is running us in debt, and we need all the revenue and more than the act of '42 will give; and then, too, it is too soon to see its full operation; the country, really, has rapidly thriven under it.—Yes, there is this singular man of the queue from Florida, who does not like to be thought a mere follower; who can tell what he will say to it? He may go for raising even that of '42 till the war is over, as we ought not go into debt.—Then Old Bullion [Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri], even he is suspected; of him it is said he must rule or ruin, and that his action may depend on Calhoun's course; about whom already bets are offered and taken that he will oppose the new bill. Those who affirm this refer to his billing and cooing with this "great inland arm of the sea," this Memphis convention, roads and canals,—especially the gradation bill as a preparatory coaxing to his own mind that protection is at last the thing. And then others say, or think, this will depend on the fact whether Benton gets the control of Polk which is being very much suspected of late. His formidable "forty-niner" speech made him, it is supposed, a colossus in the eyes of Polk, Walker, etc., who had been staggering, blundering, and children-like trying to walk alone, especially to avoid Old Bullion; but at last they were glad to hold forth their tiny hands for support to one who, although they had avoided him, was still gallant and condescending when thus appealed to; and up went our son-in-law [Colonel Frémont, who had married Benton's daughter] from Lieutenant, in the engineer corps, I believe, to Lieutenant-Colonel, over the heads of half the officers in the army.—And who knows but that gallant little hotspur Hannegan, the disinterested "fifty-four-forty" man, may take it into his head to bury the new tariff bill, as he did Jimmy Polk, so deep that the hand of resurrection will never reach it?

With all these screws thus played in the fabric, composed of such different and to each other nonconducting metals (to use a galvanic expression), and when common sense, the common interest of the country are all in our favor, there is some hope that the tariff of '42 is safe now, and if now, for a long time to come.—These Loco's, you know, are, however, skillful compositionists, can melt down materials ever so discordant, and by skillful tempering, by the application of government pap (and they have heaps of that to dispense), and therefore cool them down, at least to adhere for one election, expecting the next to renew the process of melting, so as to produce a metal of another color, because every new election requires with them a new color at least, leaving the maw of the animal, only enlarged by glutinous indulgence, more capacious than before and more inexorable in their demands for pap.—We had a small evidence of this the other day in the Brinkerhoff Rebellion. He is one of Pharaoh's lean kine who, after they had swallowed the fat of the land, were lean and hungry still; but after they made him feel the rod, due to so bold a move, they soon found the only way to appease Loco Foco demands was to stuff in the pap. He soon kissed the rod that inflicted the blow, and all was well again, for a time.

I see our friends in St. Louis are pursuing their old folly in dividing our forces and therefore being beat. Our "Native" friends seem to me to have taken the field properly, as they already had a separate organization; and I think our Whig friends ought to have joined in their support, as they had nominated all good Whigs. But it seems they will not now. I suppose there is a screw loose there, and in looking out for its location, at this distance it is somewhat difficult to fix upon the precise one. Yet I shall not be surprised if our A. B. C.'s furnished a cue to its development. I am afraid there is too much self in these matters.—Campbell and Wright may be too far advanced for our A. B. C.'s to look with satisfaction on their growing strength. For me and my house I intend to go for the Whig party, so long as they will go for extension of the naturalization laws and against frauds in voting, so as to keep our government in American hands. If they desert me in this, I shall cling to American control of our own government. I trust you are at work, according to our understanding when you were here, to cause the Whigs of our State to adopt on our banners this American doctrine. It will be hazardous to abandon our old name. If we can get our old friends to go on with us, as I feel but little doubt they will, then our State at least will be soon arrayed on the American side—not as the Phi'ans, but as Americans; not as religious bigots, but as Christian tolerants;—in fact, to the foreigner all that we are ourselves, except a longer time before they can vote.

Your friend,
JOHN WILSON.

The following letter deals with the congressional canvass in the district to which Pettis county belonged. Two candidates were in the field—Phelps, a Bentonian, or "hard," and Campbell, a "soft," or anti-Benton Democrat. The names "hard" and "soft" refer primarily to the currency question, on which Benton's position had won for him the nickname "Old Bullion." General Smith at first entered the canvass as the Whig candidate, but soon withdrew in order to ensure the success of Phelps. The letter shows General Smith's standing among the Whigs of his district, and the hopes that had been entertained by his friends for his election.

[Joel H. Haden to G. R. Smith.]

Springfield, Mo., July 11th, 1846.

My Dear General:

The Softs, both in the Democrat and the Whig ranks, consider that they have gained a great victory in your retiring from the congressional canvass.

The Softs, you know, can outlie all creation and outbrag both Jews and Gentiles. They have commenced lying about Phelps' votes relative to the soldiery of the country; and by that stratagem Campbell is drawing off divers votes from Phelps; and if their lies will operate on the north side of the Osage as much to the prejudice of Phelps as they seem to do here, then and in that case, had you continued on the field, I say your election would have been sure and certain. But "it is as it is," as the old saying is; and now Phelps, though he will beat Campbell, will not do it with such a respectable and overwhelming vote as he would had he beat with you on the field. I do insist that it is right that we should hold you—(when I say we, I mean the friends of Phelps, of both parties)—should and do hold you responsible to a certain degree for the Whig vote of Pettis and Saline; at least to be held off to a large extent from Jack, if not to come on to Phelps. You I presume will say this is right. . . .

Do, if you please, write me on the receipt of this how things are going in the two counties, between Campbell and Phelps; or whether there has been any change to any amount since I left. . . . Will you believe me to be devotedly

Your friend and obedient servant,

JOEL H. HADEN.

General G. R. Smith.

The following letter from Wilson shows the Whig plans in Missouri with reference to the senatorship, and the active part which General Smith was called upon to play in all Whig movements:

[John Wilson to G. R. Smith.]

Fayette, 27th October, 1846.

Dear Sir:

I am at last at home for a few days only, as I leave for New Orleans, between this and the 10th of next month, for the winter. Our friends in Congress have made extensive arrangements to do their best between this and the fall of '48, under a firm conviction that a favorable result will be had. One part of their plan is to flood [with Whig documents] the country, or at least New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, and Florida in particular, and other parts of the Union as circumstances shall dictate. In the State first named, they hope for favorable results by great exertions. In our State they hope (if possible) to put in a Whig Senator in the place of Atchison, or at the worst to replace Old Bullion in '51. To do this latter, it is thought it is necessary to commence now (at the beginning of Congress in December) to do all we can before A.'s re-election; so that at the worst we can bring him to some kind of contract, if we can't beat him. To do this, our friends have agreed to flood our State with documents. To enable them to do this they demand of the Whig party to furnish them with proper names. The Hon. Truman Smith (to whom I believe I introduced you while you were in Washington) is at the head of the committee of our friends who have this matter in charge; and a better hand or a more thorough Whig or diligent man is not in Congress. I have promised to urge our friends to send to him (by the beginning of the session) proper names from all the counties. I now in part perform this pledge by urging you to see that a proper list is not only sent from your county, [but from] all those south and west of you. You know our leading friends in that range of country, and I do not; therefore I apply to you, in the full belief you will see it done. Have I your promise? If I were not going to the South on compulsion, I would take the matter in hand and see it done if I had to ride nearly over the State to do it. My own opinion is we are too remiss in this matter; nothing but the utmost diligence, and far beyond that degree of it ever used by the Whigs of Missouri, can expect success; and that ere long will insure it. Our friends think we ought to send them at least 14,000 names. They will send plenty of documents if we furnish the names; for their arrangements are very extensive, and they are determined to push everything to extremity. They sent from the adjournment till the 15th of September about 3,000 daily. Democracy got the alarm and tried for a week or two to get up a like committee, but it was no go; and then they turned 'round and construed the Post-office law that no member could frank in vacation anybody's speech but his own. This put an end to the daily exertions of the committee till Congress assembles. When this took place our committee had on hand printed and folded about 160,000 speeches ready for franking, which they had several (five I believe) clerks constantly endorsing, and members enough to frank them attended daily and labored like good fellows. The best they could do was to send them in boxes to their friends as merchandise, relying on them to give them circulation. They have informed me that they have sent to my address about seven or eight thousand as our portion of those on hand. I expect them in a few days. How shall we put them in the hands of the people? How shall I send some to you? Write me at once, that I may give proper direction to this matter. The manner of sending the names is pretty much left to us; but they propose first that the names and titles (such as Judge, General, Colonel, etc.) be plainly and fully written, with the postoffice, county, etc.; that the list be composed of two separate lists, headed one Whig and the other Democrat, and I counsel that the Democrat list be the longest by two to one; that these be selected as far as is practicable of honest, reasonable Locos, if to be found. I am quite satisfied we have been all wrong on this subject, in sending to those who are already with us. By sending them to "Colonel," "General" and "Judge" (Democrats), franked with some man they don't think knows them, they will consider it a compliment. If this does not do good, what will? We ought also to send to enough Whigs to not give offense. These are my views; how do you like them? . . . Raise the shout for "Old Rough and Ready" for next President. That is our game here, at all events, and so in the Union.

Your friend, JOHN WILSON.

P. S.—I hope I shall hear from you on this subject at once, and let me know how many counties you will be responsible for.

A second candidacy for Congress was urged upon General Smith, and a more effective organization for the Whig party in Missouri was proposed, in the following letter:

[John Wilson to G. R. Smith.]

Fayette, 16th November, 1846.

Dear Sir:

To-day I leave for New Orleans, where I shall expect to receive an answer to this, as well as many more during the winter. I have ordered you the speeches, etc.; and suppose they are already at Boonville, as you directed. I hope you will make extensive as well as good use of them. I have written the Hon. T. Smith, if he wishes any special information at any time from here, to call on you, and have promised your efficient attention to it.

I wrote you on the subject of preparing the way for being a candidate for Congress at next election *now;* I hope you will not only consider me serious, but actually engage in the matter *now.* If you will send me a list of names of your principal personal and political friends, I will take occasion to write them on the general subject, and so manage the affair as to turn their attention to that subject.

At all events I think you had better get up committees all over the district, State, etc., with a view of managing our political affairs till the election in '48; and take care that our true men are upon them. This ought to be attended to all over the State. This winter—now—is the time to begin. Depend on that, and I know no place more proper than in Pettis; for to begin is the matter. You ought first get as early as possible your committees, and then press a general convention of our friends, expressly to make up organizations for '48,—a central committee for the State to superintend all general elections, one in each congressional district to attend to that, and one in each county. These ought all to be fixed between this and spring; for in May the campaign will begin to move and show its head. Get all your friends to write to St. Louis to our American (Native) paper, and urge them now to come out for Taylor. In relation to organization, these are the views of our friends to the East generally. Our Eastern friends always have these committees. I am opposed to them on principle, but there is no way for us to get along without them. You set fire to stop fire.

Your friend, JOHN WILSON.

The progress which the movement for Taylor was making, and the effort for a Whig-Taylor organization in Missouri, are seen in the following letter:

[John Wilson to G. R. Smith.]

St. Louis, 23rd April, 1847.

Dear General:

I am just here on my way down again to New Orleans, where I expect to leave again for home about the middle of June.

You will see our proceedings at Fayette, as well as my hand in it. I am entirely sanguine in the belief that we can not only carry Taylor (for he is elected already), but Governor and legislature of our State, if our friends will at once seize this favorable moment and organize with vigor and energy. If we do this, Old Zack will carry us. All we have to do is to fan the flame that the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, and Buena Vista have kindled; and Loco Focoism will be not only consumed, but its very remains will be scattered to the four winds of heaven. Therefore, I beg you in the name of your country, for the love of liberty, and for the sake of the reform of Loco Focoism, which Whig success insures—Organize—*Organize!* Make that organization broad enough, while it seems a Taylor meeting, to take in a State organization, — Governor, Lieutenant - Governor, Congress (in the several districts); as for instance, a State convention for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and when they are assembled let the members from each congressional district decide who shall be the Whig candidate for Congress in that district. Or, if you prefer it better, a separate set of conventions for each district; no odds, so there is an efficient and immediate organization. Let us raise all the noise we can. These are my views. Act at all events, in the way you see best; only act, and at once. Your friend,

JOHN WILSON.

In the next letter the plans of the Missouri Whigs for 1848 are seen developing from the question of a national leader to the choice of local candidates and the advisability of making a strong stand for a liberal policy in granting charters for railroads and other internal improvements. On all these questions General Smith was freely consulted. On the question of railroads, although his letters in this correspondence have not been preserved, there can be no doubt from his known opinions that his answer was a hearty affirmative.

[John Wilson to G. R. Smith.]

Fayette, Mo., 16th July, 1847.

Dear General:

I have just returned from New Orleans, and expect to be at home most of the summer. It is probable I shall make a trip in August to Springfield, Mo., and Fayetteville, Ark.—There seems to be a general disposition amongst our friends to run Doniphan for Governor. What say you to that? Write me your views. The general views which I entertained in the winter, when I saw you last, are still those which I entertain now; some new developments have added to their strength in my opinion. That we ought to make the race on old "Rough and Ready," and internal improvements of the State as our only watchword, is to me entirely evident. The masses of our State, I feel sure, are in favor of both. Like it was in 1828, everybody knew all about General Jackson; so now more than everybody knows all about General Taylor. On the other hand, the low stage of the Missouri river for two years, the high freight, not to say impossibility of sending produce to market at all, has at once brought all minds to consider the importance of internal improvements. There is now a general fever in favor of such projects. It is true, different parts of the State ask different improvements; and all taken together they would amount to more than could be made at short notice. But it will be a great oversight in our friends if they do not take vigorous hold of this feeling; and if added to Taylor and Doniphan, we shall surprise ourselves in the final result. The Loco Foco party (its leaders) must go against internal improvements; at least they will oppose any practical plan. And first, while they declare generally that they are in favor of the system, they will in advance declare themselves to be opposed to running the State in debt for these improvements, and with great glibness cite Illinois, Mississippi, etc. I am also opposed to running the State largely in debt, which it would require to make all that is wanted; and consequently I shall propose that our friends do not insist on the State making them. And therefore, to avoid an issue with them on that point, and make one with them on the subject of private corporations, let us insist that the necessary railroads, slack-water navigation to our smaller rivers (as the Osage), can be made by private corporations; and let the tug of war come between us upon the provisions of the charters to the companies. The faithful, you know, will insist on the personal liability clause; while we ought to declare that, if companies can be got to take such charters, we will prefer it, but that rather than not make these improvements, we go the usual clause of old corporations, making only the stock-owners liable to the amount of their stock. By showing up the great loss we have sustained in consequence of the want of these improvements (which I intend to undertake in some newspaper articles this summer), I feel sure that we can sustain ourselves amongst the sovereigns in making this an absolute test to all our candidates for the legislature. The immense loss sustained the last year even, will make many of the heretofore faithful desert them. . . .

I think we had better get some Loco who goes for old Zack and internal improvements to run with Doniphan as Lieutenant-Governor. Who can we get? Campbell is crazy for internal improvements (I came up from New Orleans with him to Jefferson City); whether he goes for Taylor is yet a matter to be decided on, as he may hereafter see his way. He is anxious for a trade with the Whigs to aid him to beat Phelps. I sounded him only thus far, not knowing what was our state of political feeling. He made me promise to stay a few days at his house when I go out, and then I can see how the cat hops. Write me your views: what his force is amongst the faithful; does Haden go with him; and would he make a preaching journey to aid us? If we agreed to take up Campbell, would it be best to run him for Congress or Lieutenant-Governor? There is Claude Jones; I am told that he is preparing himself to run as an independent candidate for Governor! Strange as that seems, yet I am not so certain that he can not do more good amongst the rank and file in that part of the State, which of all others is against us. But you know more what he can do than I. How would he do for Lieutenant-Governor? *Quien sabe?* Who knows? Write me on this. He was at Jefferson as I came up; he heard I was aboard and sought me, evidently to see what I had to say on political matters. The bell just rang to start; our interview lasted only half a minute. It resulted in an agreement that when I came out there I was to call on him and talk over affairs. There is also English of Cape Girardeau; Carte Wells of Lincoln; the Rylands up above; and Hall here (if he don't get the judgeship); and several others whose position with their party render it quite probable a bargain might be struck with them. Let me hear from you. Campbell's hobby for a railroad is from Springfield down along the divide between the waters of the Osage and Gasconade to the Missouri river. Your friend,

JOHN WILSON.

The late date fixed for the Whig State convention, the disastrous results therefrom, General Smith's candidacy for Congress, the difficulty of getting Whigs to make the almost hopeless race for the governorship, and the well-worn theme of a more effective organization, are the topics of the following letter from General Wilson:

[John Wilson to G. R. Smith.]

Fayette, Mo., 1st October, 1847.

Dear General:

What has become of you that I hear not from you for so long a time? What are you Whigs in Pettis about? Are you going to organize the first of November, in obedience to the suggestions of our central committee? I hope you will; much good may come of it. Heretofore our friends have done too little towards organization, too little in action, and hence our overwhelming defeat. Times, it seems to me, are now propitious to attempt a complete organization. And if this is followed by energetic, united action, my opinion is success to a great and desirable extent will follow our efforts. I fear, however, that our organization will be upon paper, by resolves and resolutions, not followed by action. My mind is made up that in this election (I mean that of '48) that the Whigs in this State will either make a great gain, or a great loss. If we organize and follow it up with untiring action, such as the Democrats did in "hickory bush" times, we shall succeed; if we only organize on paper and sleep on our oars, as I fear will be the case, then our attempts at organization will do us great harm and we shall come out loser. We have so long promised our people a triumph, if we now let things go by default our forces will despair and leave us.

I fear our central committee have postponed our convention too late, but I am inclined to the opinion a majority of our friends approve of the time, and this no doubt justifies their act; but if it had been left to me, I should have fixed December greatly in preference. The main designed good they expected to obtain by so late a day was a knowledge of what our opponents did and who they nominated. I confess that there is or may be something gained by this; but am very certain we shall lose double that we thus gain by the delay. Already the campaign amongst the Locos is under full headway; all their people are fully engaged in electioneering. In each neighborhood, almost certainly in every district of country, there is "a Richmond in the field" for Governor, and indeed all else. These are all as busy as nailers, reining in the people to a pledge for them first, and then for somebody second; but all finally for the nominee of the convention. Thus, while they have the field to themselves (for we have and can have nobody out till the convention nominates them), they are going about renewing the faith of their old partisans, many of whom are ready to fall away; but as no one of our people is in the field to draw a distinction or to give them courage to refuse, many now sick of "Polk-stalk" rule will again pledge themselves to their old associates. Even if some of them have the courage to suggest that they go for internal improvements, which is now being got up into a fever,—(this reminds me of my scribbling over the signature of "Missouri" in the *Times*; the first number was begun on the 21st of August and so continued; there will be eleven numbers; get them republished in your town if you have a paper, if not your nearest paper),—these Democrats will laud internal improvements to the skies, and swear the Whigs will go for plunging the State in debt twenty or thirty millions to make them; and yet if our candidates were soon on the field, they would be enabled to show both these matters false. If now any of the Locos show signs to their leaders of going over to Taylor, why they assure them upon honor Mr. Clay is to be run. In these and various other ways we shall be constantly losing votes that, if we were early in the field, we might and would gain. Our committee have not given time enough to canvass the State. No candidate can do it in less than seven months; they have allowed only half the time. . . . Have we not always been beaten? Do we not know we must have of their forces over 3,000 men before we can expect to succeed?

. . . Are you going to run for Congress in your district? Jack Campbell wants to do so against Phelps. Who shall we get for Governor, etc.? Doniphan is out of the way, it seems; he won't run. This is according to his creed; he will not allow his friends to use him in a doubtful race. For my part, in sure times I am for rewarding the man who lays his shoulder to the wheel when asked by his friends in times of doubt. Them's my sentiments. Yours, John Wilson.

P. S.—Our friends ought to raise money to pay the actual expenses of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, etc., besides for other expenses in printing, sending documents, etc., for the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor have such a herculean task; if they quit their business for several months, this is all we ought to expect of them.

The next letter, from Mr. Haden, throws light on the congressional canvass of 1848. General Smith had been proposed but had withdrawn from the contest of 1846; since that time there had been frequent talk among his friends of a renewal of his candidacy, and his name was still being mentioned by the Whigs in connection with the office.

[Joel H. Haden to G. R. Smith.]

Springfield, Mo., March 9th, 1848.

My Dear General:

Yours of the 1st inst. came to hand by due course of mail, and we were delighted to hear that you were all in good health.

I feel fully persuaded in my mind that the man who goes to our convention strongest will not be the more likely to be the nominee. I think it certain that a compromise will be had on a second choice; and should not the nominee be made on this side of the river, from what I can learn of public feeling in the Southwest, they will be more likely to unite on King than any other Northern man. I do not flatter myself that I will be successful; but I am bound to make a respectable show, and while the ball is rolling it may possibly come to me. The friends of Phelps in the Southeast are anxious that the Southeast and Southwest should operate together in harmonious action. About Acock and his friends I know but little; only that some of his friends are my violent enemies, and others of them are my warm, zealous friends; and there is no doubt but I will share largely in his five counties, unless some new ball is put in motion to defeat me. Upon the whole, I view the final result quite problematical and uncertain. I talked with Brother R. C. Crawford, shortly after I saw you, and found him zealous in favor of his county going for you. But he informed me all pegs were stuck for Winston, and I suppose he found that he could not pull up those stakes; and I am told the county went for Winston.

On Monday last the Whig meeting came off in this county. They passed but two resolutions: one in favor of General Taylor for the Presidency, and the other was that it is inexpedient for the Whigs to run a candidate in this congressional district, etc. How fully in character with the Bailey dynasty! But in that, the Dr. Perham and Garry wings of the Whig party most cordially co-operated. So you will perceive that there is nothing new under the sun at Springfield; for the two factions united upon Taylor as the only available man (all at the same time having a decided preference for Clay), and that it was bad policy to run a candidate for Congress in this district.

I think I see the handwriting upon the wall. Your information about Campbell is altogether wrong. No county has or will instruct for him. Neither has he said he will go into convention, that I know of. He has been gone now for four or five weeks to Texas and (report says) to the island of Cuba, with his two daughters. But he is to return by or before the first of May; and from what I could discover before he left, by the repeated and constant caucusings of himself and a faction in the Whig party, I incline to think it is understood that on his return he will set out with the aid of the Whigs to break down the nominee, be he who he may. I do not speak this by authority, but by conjecture alone; but still I think I see the handwriting on the wall.

Jack will do or risk anything to break down Phelps, and I think there is but little doubt of his being the nominee for the district, having now eight counties instructed in his favor,—and they are strong counties. We of the Southwest have been apprised of the manœuvers of other aspirants and their friends to break him down. There is only a bare possibility of it as things now stand, yet we think we will get several other counties in the Southwest.

I believe I have given you all the information you asked for and perhaps more. But this letter is for your own eye. . . .

Will you be at our State convention? I would like to see you there. If I leave home under favorable circumstances, I intend staying over and being at yours, in order to inform myself how the "coons" act in convention. . . . Do let me hear from you upon receipt of this, and believe me to be your friend, devotedly, fraternally, and in the hope of a better resurrection to eternal life. Farewell.

JOEL H. HADEN.

General G. R. Smith.

Preparations for the presidential canvass had meanwhile gone actively on. In May, 1848, the Democratic national convention met in Baltimore, and nominated Cass of Michigan and Butler of Kentucky on a strict-constructionist platform, which was non-committal on the power of Congress to exclude slavery from the territories. In June the Whig convention met in Philadelphia. There the contest was between Webster, Clay, Scott, and Taylor; with the result that Taylor was nominated on the fourth ballot, with Fillmore of New York for Vice-President. No platform was adopted by the convention, the delegates voting down resolution after resolution as soon as offered; and as Taylor's advisers both before and after his nomination carefully imparted a tone of vague elusiveness to all his political utterances, the campaign was fought by the Whigs, in the language of Professor Von Holst, on the basis of the systematic "abandonment of all principles on principle."

The following is the first letter received by General Smith from his friend Wilson after the presidential nomination; an active organized canvass of the State for Taylor is its theme:

[John Wilson to G. R. Smith.]

Fayette, Mo., 29th July, 1848.

Dear General:

We have the opinion here that a vigorous and well-directed effort will carry the State for Taylor. I write you now, that as soon as the State election is over you may consider this matter and let me know your views. In the event we make the attempt, the first act in the drama would be a grand State mass meeting at Jefferson City, Boonville, or elsewhere; one of the same kind afterwards in each electoral district; the impetus of these will insure them in each county, and this will carry the State for "Old Zack." In such an attempt our electors would take the stump day and night till November, and all our

Whig speakers be detailed for like services as assistants and forced to act.

If we can carry the State for Taylor, with the divisions amongst the Democrats we can elect a Whig to the United States Senate. See your Whig friends, as far as you can; correspond with the rest, and let us hear your views. Your friend,

JOHN WILSON.

General Wilson acted as one of the chief managers of the Taylor campaign in Missouri. The election over and the victory won, he sought his reward in an appointment under the new administration. The following letter, written to General Smith in pursuance of that object, is interesting for its account of Wilson's correspondence with and visit to the President-elect on his Louisiana plantation. It was sent from New Orleans some time in January, 1849:

[John Wilson to G. R. Smith.]

Dear Sir:

Allow me to trouble you with some politics, and also something as to myself,—the latter in particular. Self, you know, is the nearest to one's self; next our friends.

Last spring and summer, while here, I formed a pretty familiar acquaintance with General Taylor. Through the summer and fall, after I went home, I kept up a pretty fair running correspondence with him, in the course of which he frequently thanked me for information, etc., I gave him. All this seemed pretty fair; and when I came down here this fall I ventured to write him a very long letter on two subjects, making such suggestions as I thought would be right for him to adopt, giving my reasons as full as a letter would allow.

The subjects on which I addressed him were two:—What his inaugural address should contain; how he should choose and govern his Cabinet. As to the first, I proposed the Allison letters as the basis,[1] and the only specification I urged was that he should declare in a bold and emphatic manner that meddling with elections by government officers was a high political offense worthy of removal, and that he should consider it his duty to remove both those who had or should thus meddle; and quote General Jackson's first inaugural as authority. As to his Cabinet, they should be highly moral, sober, working men, who considered that they had yet political capital to earn, and not any of the old Hunker folks, who thought themselves at the top of the political ladder; that he should take no old Cabinet men, but all new men; that when selected he and they should agree on a few general rules for their government, and after that leave each to manage his own department in his own way; and they could in moderation turn out the most prominent offenders at once, and as to lesser ones let them put them out; and then let it be kept in view that the Locos had had the offices for twenty years, and on that ground put in Whigs till something like equality existed; but proscription for opinion's sake ought not to be adopted. He forthwith answered me, in effect: "Them's my sentiments, and I hope to carry them out, but will of course consult my Cabinet, and what we agree on I will carry out, even if not exactly as I wish." He ended his letter by inviting me to go up to Baton Rouge to visit him; where, he said, "we could talk over more at leisure the many very interesting political questions mentioned in your letter," etc.

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[1] The second letter to Allison (September 4, 1848) was the platform on which Taylor's campaign was fought. This was written at Washington by Stephens, Toombs, and Crittenden, and forwarded to the General, "who then gave it to the world as his letter to Allison."—Von Holst, *History of the United States*, III, p. 379.

I went, and no one could have received, apparently (and old Zack has not yet learned to be deceitful) a more frank and welcome reception. He opened his whole mind on all subjects to me; there was not anything that he could think of as connected with his duties as President that he did not speak about. In particular he stated his views about the private and political character of nearly all our leading men,—his objections to them, the reasons why he felt favorable or unfavorable, etc., etc. It is impossible that he should have confided more to any man than he did to me; and yet he never said:—"Sir, you will not speak of this"; although much he said, especially about men, should not be told. Indeed, it was confidential, except he will insist on good private character, etc., especially sobriety, before he can or will appoint anybody. They must possess energy and industry; as to talents, he says there are plenty.

Being just in that position with him, you know he can not know much about my standing, etc., at home, nor how I am reputed there by our friends. Now, if the Whigs of Missouri should think me worthy, and will at once—right now—fully indorse me as of good character, pretty good capacity, and entirely acceptable to the Whigs of Missouri, recommending me at large as fit for anything, if they can say so, speaking of me for no specific office; and if our Whig members in the legislature will join to do this,—all this, and my present start with him, will put me in a position to do much for my friends, and perhaps something for myself. They may do this the more readily as, if I seek any office, so far as now advised, I shall seek one out of the State. Whatever is done, I should like to have done at the earliest possible day, for reasons I will explain to you when I see you. Let them all be inclosed to the Hon. Truman Smith, member of Congress from Connecticut, at Washington, saying only—not that I requested them to be sent,—but say that it was understood we were personal friends. If he gets them by the 20th February, or sooner, he may make a more powerful use of them than he could afterwards.

It is easy for letters to be written as desired, if the signers can be had, and send them off. I have asked aid in this from Mr. Campbell, Nat Pascal, Colonel Young of Boone county, Weston F. Birch, John B. Clark, Ned Samuel of Clay, with my brothers Robert and William; and now I ask aid from you, if you can give it. I ask your active aid in getting all the letters you possibly can get, at the earliest day; and to be forwarded to Mr. Smith. I suppose they had better be directed to General Taylor, but enclosed without being sealed to Mr. Smith; he can seal them. Now I ask help from none but those I am willing to help. I know not whether I deserve it or not; I know I wish it and, if agreeable, will like to have it, and be thankful at that. I would like for you to see as many of those letters as possible, or suggest their contents. If you will give yourself considerable trouble I will try and repay it. The earliest date they can be sent, the better.

JOHN WILSON.

The closing scenes of Polk's administration are sketched, and the first news of the passage of the bill for the relief of General Smith is given, in the following letter from the wife of Congressman

Phelps. As a Democrat, she could not be expected to sympathize with the inauguration of a Whig administration:

[Mrs. Mary Phelps to G. R. Smith.]

Washington, Sunday morning, March 4th, 1849.

My Dear Brother Smith:

I have sat down to inform you that Congress adjourned this morning at seven o'clock. I remained at the Capitol until one o'clock. Such confusion never was seen before at one place. In the Senate there was one fight: the parties, Mr. Foot, Mr. Cameron. In the House two fights: the parties, Mr. Mead, Mr. Giddings; Mr. Fricklen, Mr. Johnson of Arkansas. This is the commencement of a Whig administration.

I think the people will be sorry before this administration closes. The civil and diplomatic bill passed, and was signed by Mr. Polk this morning at five o'clock. Mr. Benton and Mr. Allen refused to vote after twelve o'clock.

The House bill for your relief passed the Senate at eleven o'clock last night. My husband has been after the Senators from our State since the setting of Congress. Mr. P. says, as he has no power of attorney to draw your money, he will make an effort to have the Treasurer send you a draft.

We expected to see you here, certainly, at the inauguration of Old Zack. Do you not intend to come in for your portion of the spoils? The city is overflowing. Strangers can not get places to sleep, and hardly a roof to cover their heads.

General Taylor has been here since Friday week, and all the time so pressed with company that he could not walk into the street to get the fresh air. I predict before four years shall have passed into oblivion he will wish himself in the camp. You will see by the papers before this letter reaches you who are the Taylor Cabinet.

We shall leave here on Tuesday morning for home. I never was so worn out in my life, and I think when I get home again I shall be willing to stay there. I hope your family are well; give my love to them and accept my best wishes for yourself. My husband wishes to be remembered. He would have written you this morning, but he was so much fatigued after his night's labor he had to go to bed.

Your friend and sister in the Lord,
MARY PHELPS.

Below are given the letters received in this period from Manlius V. Thomson, of Georgetown, Ky., a brother-in-law of General Smith, who served in the Mexican War and achieved an honorable record. Under date of September 12th, 1847, he writes:

[Manlius V. Thomson to George R. Smith.]

Georgetown, Ky., 12th Sept., 1847.

General George R. Smith:

You will have seen, before this reaches you, no doubt, that I have been appointed Colonel of the 3rd Regiment Ky. Vol. Infantry. This will somewhat surprise you all in Missouri, I suppose; but the deed is done, and I expect my regiment to rendezvous at Louisville about the first of next month. Our destination is not certainly known, but there seems to be no doubt that we shall be ordered to join General Scott's columns. If so, we shall have a very pleasant time of it, seeing that the sickly season will be over before we shall reach Vera Cruz, and that the winters in Mexico are as pleasant as the month of May in this climate. We have volunteered for the war, quite an indefinite period truly; still I think some arrangements for peace will certainly be made in less than twelve months. The expense of holding the whole country would be too great, and public opinion in the United States will compel an adjustment of some sort. I think the chances are in favor of our returning before the next summer.

My family will remain in Georgetown during my absence, in order that the children may go to school. Volney will probably go with me, attached to the sutler's department. Lewis Postlewaite is sutler; John Rodes Smith, Captain of the company from this county, and Ben. F. Bradley, First Lieutenant. Thomas L. Crittenden is Lieutenant-Colonel (son of John J.); and John C. Breckinridge (son of Cabell) is Major. They will make first-rate officers, and are very agreeable gentlemen.

Yours truly, M. V. THOMSON.

October 27th, 1847, a second letter from Colonel Thomson was sent to General Smith; its material portion follows:

[Manlius V. Thomson to George R. Smith.]

Louisville, Kentucky, 27th October, 1847.

Your letter of the 26th September found me at this place some two or three weeks ago, and I have delayed replying in the hope of giving you some definite news in relation to my movements, etc. At the time you wrote there seemed to be good prospect for peace; but it was soon dispelled, and the end of the war seems now to be farther off than ever. The consequence is that we have been making our preparations for proceeding to the City of Mexico, and the day of our departure from this city is fixed for Monday next, the first of November. We might have gone two weeks sooner, but we are under the orders of General Butler, who has command of a division composed of two Tennessee, two Kentucky, and one Indiana regiments, three of which were not ready, and he was desirous they should all move at the same time. He is not willing to wait longer for the tardy regiments, and has fixed our departure for Monday next. We expect to leave then without doubt, and shall go direct to Vera Cruz, and then, I suppose, to General Scott's headquarters.

Yours sincerely,
M. V. THOMSON.

In a letter to General Smith's daughter Sarah, Colonel Thomson gives his impressions of Mexico:

[Manlius V. Thomson to Miss Sarah E. Smith.]

City of Mexico, 26 April, 1848.

Dear Sed:

I was quite gratified to receive some days ago your letter of the 4th ult., with a short postscript by Betty. Although I am so far away from you all in Missouri, I had by no means forgotten you, and was much pleased to hear that you were all well and that the State of Missouri was populating fast. Four boys in the family in so short a time would seem to indicate that Missouri will be a great State one of these days, particularly if those of you who remain single should get married soon.

You ask me how I like the country, the people, etc.; and how it looks after all the battles and bloodshed. The people are last-rate, the country indifferent. I want nothing more to do with either. God forbid that they should ever become annexed to, or part of, our Union. The people lack intelligence, industry, morals, and courage. The country seems to me to have been made for them. It has the appearance of never having been finished, or having been worn out. A large portion of it is nothing but volcanic mountains, entirely destitute of vegetation and timber. There are some fine rich valleys, but they constitute a very small part of the country. There is no wood in the valleys and but little on the mountains. But this does not seem to be as great a defect as you might suppose, as the climate is so mild that there is very little use for fuel. When our army came into the city, there was not a fireplace in it. We have built one or two, so that we have done something for them to offset the harm. The people generally are very degraded. A few are intelligent and wealthy. The great mass are Indians, no better than those west of Missouri. Many of them go half naked all the year. The women wear no bonnets and many no shoes or stockings. They have more churches and less religion than any people in the world, yet they are all true Catholics and very intolerant of all other creeds.

There are, however, a good many curiosities in the country worth seeing,—the mountains, churches, mines, caves, and tropical fruits. We have had watermelons, oranges, cucumbers, tomatoes, and many other vegetables all winter. The mountains of Popocatapetl, Itazicuwaltl, and Orizaba are always covered with snow, even in midsummer, and I have seen them all three at one view, though perhaps 150 miles apart. I haven't time to describe them at present.

Tell Betty she must take this as an answer to her note also, as it is now past eleven o'clock at night. Give my love to your father and mother, grandpa, grandma and all the family. I should be glad to hear from you all frequently.

Your affectionate uncle,

M. V. Thomson.

Soon after, Colonel Thomson and his regiment embarked for the North, and by the middle of July were again on Kentucky soil. The following letter gives the details of his return trip:

[Manlius V. Thomson to George R. Smith.]

Louisville, 18th July, 1848.

Dear George:

As you see from the above, I am once again on the soil of Old Kentucky. I arrived here on Sunday morning with my regiment on the steamer *Missouri,* in seven days from New Orleans. We had quite a favorable trip from the City of Mexico, considering the season of the year, and the climate through which we had to pass. We left the city on the first day of June, and had the sun vertical over our heads during the entire month of June; that is to say it was vertical at noon, or nearly so, all the time. For a portion of the time it was to the north of us, throwing our shadows on the south side of us. Nevertheless the heat was not so great as you would suppose, in fact not greater than it frequently is here. The reason of this is that the country is so elevated as to counterbalance the effect of the sun; besides, at that season of the year it rains almost every day in that part of Mexico, which serves to keep the air cool. These rains fell almost every day in the afternoon, while we made our marches before 10 o'clock a.m., so that while they served to cool the air and lay the dust, they did not interfere with our march. We arrived near Jalapa on the tenth day, and had to remain in that neighborhood at Encorro (Santa Anna's hacienda) two weeks, before the transports were ready for us. As we went down from Encorro we called and staid a day at Santa Anna's other hacienda, Mango de

Clavo. These are both very fine residences, but a good deal injured by our troops in the course of the war. On the 28th of June, having marched the three last days through mud and water, we arrived at Vera Cruz, and embarked the same day on sail-vessels for New Orleans. We had quite a pleasant voyage across the Gulf, arrived in New Orleans on the morning of the 5th of July, and left that city the evening of the 8th. Considering the season of the year and the unhealthfulness of Vera Cruz and New Orleans, we considered ourselves very fortunate in escaping without any yellow fever or other malignant disease. We were again quite fortunate in finding a rise in the Ohio precisely at the time to enable us to come on to Louisville without reshipping. We arrived in pretty good health, although generally somewhat reduced in flesh by the heat of the weather and the fatigue of the march.

I believe I am satisfied with military life, and quite willing to yield my claims to some younger man for the next war. In fact I became quite tired of the service, having nothing to do and no prospect of anything, even if the war should have been indefinitely postponed. Under this state of the case you may well suppose that we all became weary of the monotony of garrisoning a large city.

I have no news of my family since I arrived here, but they were well a week ago. Give my love to Melita, Betsy and Sarah, and all my kin, particularly to pa and ma. Yours truly,

M. V. Thomson.

In a letter of August 23rd, 1848, from Georgetown, Kentucky, Colonel Thomson has this to say of politics:

We have nothing of much note in the way of news. You have seen the result of our election, which is quite satisfactory to the Whigs. They expect to carry the election of Taylor easily. Van Buren's running, it is supposed, will insure Taylor's election. Van will probably not carry any State, but will so divide the Democrats as to give the most of the Northern Democratic States to Taylor. At all events we think there is little doubt of Taylor's election.

The acquisition of California as a result of the Mexican War, the discovery of gold there in 1848, and the election of a Whig President, operated as a powerful stimulus to the Smith-Thomson connection. Large hopes of political preferment were entertained by Colonel Thomson, and lesser hopes by General Smith; at the same time subsidiary plans of removal to California were mooted pro and con. Colonel Thompson wrote, November 19, 1848, from Georgetown, Kentucky:

You have heard before now of Old Zack's greatest victory of all, I mean his victory over the Loco Focos. It is a grand affair, eclipsing Buena Vista. Pa has written me in relation to our going to California and reaping our share of the spoils. I have no objections, if everything is made to suit. I have written to pa at length on the subject and he will doubtless show you my letter. Let me hear from you on this subject during the winter.

Again, February 4, 1849, he wrote from his Mississippi plantation:

In relation to the California movement, I am willing to be governed by the decision of the family. If they are willing, I will go along; if they decide to stay, I will stay, too. Unless, peradventure, I should be made Governor of the Territory, which I think is not improbable in case General Taylor should have the appointment in the first instance. It is yet uncertain, however, whether there will be a territorial government at all, and if there should be one who will make the nomination of the Governor, Polk or Taylor. If I can get the appointment of Governor, I am decidedly in favor of all hands going out. Otherwise I confess I am rather indifferent. Milton writes me that Monroe is going next spring, I suppose to look at the country; and you intend to take a train of wagons over, if you can get a job of transportation; so that I suppose by next fall we shall have both of you back to give an account of that country. It would be impossible for me to get ready before that time. But if all the rest of you conclude to go and should go next spring, why I will follow as soon as I can get ready.

In reference to the Indian agency which you wish to obtain from General Taylor, I can only say that the way to learn what can be done is to make the experiment. I'm inclined to think he will not make a clean sweep as you suggest, but still there will no doubt be a good many removals, particularly when any fault is found with the present incumbent. If the person now in office has faithfully discharged the duties of the office, and not interfered improperly in politics, I think there is but little reason to anticipate a removal. On the contrary, if he is liable to either of these charges, I should think he is pretty sure to fall. I shall be glad to serve you in the matter, and would suggest that you obtain the recommendations of some prominent Whigs in your State, and forward them to Washington, to be held there by some friend until such time as we may think the move ought to be made. Write me at Georgetown, Kentucky, where I shall be till the 10th of April, letting me know what measures you have alopted and how I can serve you. All the letters of recommendation should be presented at once.

Touching the appointment in General Taylor's Cabinet which you suggest that I should endeavor to obtain, it seems to me that I ought not to accept it, if tendered to me; and I don't suppose I could get it if I was to try. At all events it is now too late for me to act in the matter, and I don't suppose my friends will take it in hand. Some of my friends in Kentucky were talking of proposing me for the Senate when I left home, but I think it is doubtful whether they will do so. I would prefer that station to a seat in the Cabinet. Besides, it would enable me to serve my friends as well as the other plan. But I don't count on either. . . .

We have no news in this region of any note. The cholera appears to have nearly disappeared. It has not shown itself on the plantation so far.

My love to Melita, Betty, Sarah, and all the kin.

This, it seems, was the last letter which Mr. Smith received from Colonel Thomson. The eldest son of General Thomson, he achieved an honorable career as lawyer, soldier, planter, educator, and statesman, being elected in 1840 Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, and serving for a number of years as President of the Baptist College at Georgetown. What would have come of the plans discussed above can only be conjectured; for on July 22, 1850, occurred the death of Colonel Thomson, in his forty-eighth year. He was one of General Smith's closest friends and political sympathizers, and his loss was keenly felt.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PACIFIC RAILROAD

(1849—1853)

Missouri's interest in railroads—The Pacific Railroad chartered, 1849—Rival routes west of Jefferson City—General Smith champions the inland route—Secures vote of $100,000 from Pettis county—Inland route provisionally chosen by the legislature, December, 1852—Calls convention at Georgetown—Grants of aid refused at August election, 1853—Campaign of education by Messrs. Smith, Grover, and Woodson—Part played by General Smith—The inland route definitely chosen by the Company—Importance of this step.

The part played by General Smith in the struggle to secure the location and completion of the Pacific railroad, brings us to the greatest effort of his life, crowned by his most signal achievement.

To Missouri, in the middle of the century, the railroad question wore three aspects—local, national, and sectional. Locally, the people of Missouri were interested in building railroads as carriers for their produce and for the industrial development of the State. As members of the nation who were intimately concerned by their territorial position, they were interested in seeing a railroad built to bind the

Eastern States to that golden West recently acquired by war and treaty. Sectionally, as members of a slave-owning community, it was their interest that no route to the Pacific be chosen which should build up the territory destined by nature and the Missouri Compromise to freedom, more rapidly than that portion of the public domain still open to slave colonization. Had the sectional interest alone been concerned, Missouri's influence would have been cast in favor of the routes proposed which took Memphis, or some other point well within the slave belt, for the Mississippi terminus. As it was, the local and the purely sectional interests were at variance; and from an early period the influence of the State was given to the central route, which had the merit of traversing Missouri soil.

It was the purely local interest which produced the first movement within the State for railroad building. In April, 1836—when not a mile of railway was in operation west of the State of Ohio, and even in New England railways were but three years old—a railroad convention of about sixty persons assembled at St. Louis; and resolutions were adopted foreshadowing roughly the system of railways in Missouri as it exists to-day. The movement, however, was in advance of the time, and fifteen years were to elapse before the first iron rail was laid west of the Mississippi.

The development of the national interest in a transcontinental line greatly stimulated the railroad movement in the West. Americans were quick to see the peculiar advantages to them of railways; and as early as 1832—within two years after the opening of the first important line in England—the suggestion of a transcontinental railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific was made. By 1838 the idea had ceased to be a novelty and become a question of ways and means; and the decade between 1840 and 1850 saw many schemes publicly advocated and embodied in petitions to Congress. In many ways 1849 was a climacteric year in the movement, for in that year conventions assembled in Boston, Memphis, St. Louis, and other places, all concerned with furthering some form of a Pacific railway.

Influenced by this active interest, local and national, the State of Missouri, between 1847 and 1855, granted charters for seven railroads, all of which received State aid in construction.[1] These were, in the order of their incorporation, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, chartered February 16, 1847; the Pacific railroad (now the Missouri Pacific), chartered March 12, 1849; the Northern Missouri, and the St. Louis and Iron Mountain, chartered March 3, 1851; the Southwest Branch of the Pacific road, authorized December 25, 1852; the Platte County railroad, incorporated February 24, 1853; and the Cairo and Fulton road, chartered February 20, 1855. These lines were designed to serve not merely as parts of a local railroad system, center-ing in St. Louis and tributary to Mississippi river traffic; but also, in the case of the Pacific road, as the first stage, west of the Mississippi, of a great transcontinental railway.

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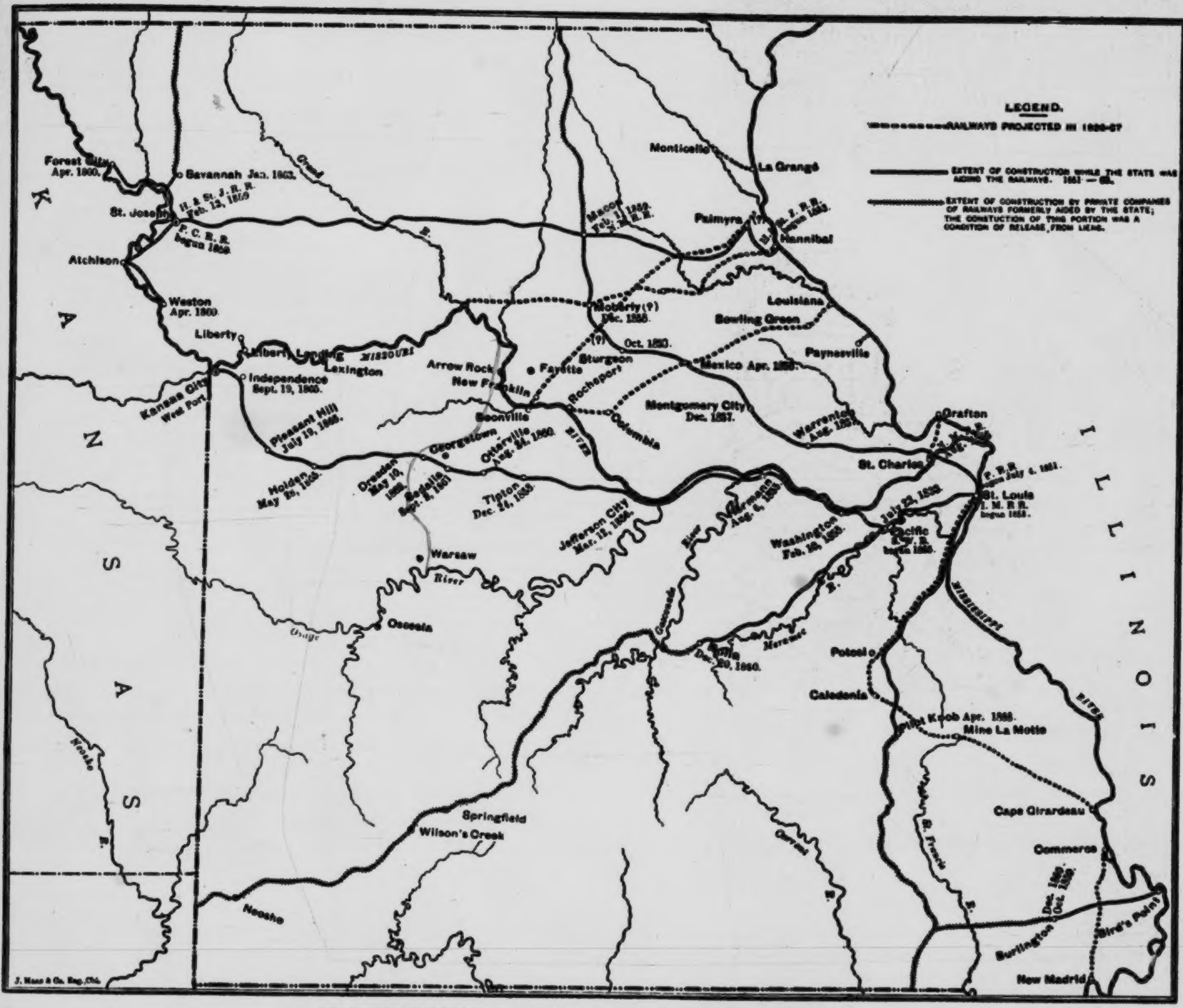
[1] The most valuable work on the relations of the State of Missouri to railroad construction is John W. Million's *State Aid to Railways in Missouri* (*Economic Studies of the University of Chicago*). Chicago, 1896.

By the charter of 1849, as amended March 1, 1851, the Pacific Railroad Company was authorized to "construct a railroad from the Mississippi river, or any other point in the city of St. Louis, on any route the said Company may deem most advantageous, to any point on the western line of the State which the said Company may select." What that route would be, in its first half, was rendered certain by the geography of the State, for it would naturally follow the valley of the Missouri river as far as Jefferson City. Beyond that point at least two routes were open to the Company. The road might continue to follow the windings of the river, keeping in touch with the thriving little towns that dotted either bank; or it might take the more inland route, through Pettis and Johnson counties, leading it more directly, but through a more sparsely settled country, to its western terminus.

Along both routes preliminary surveys were made; and, on July 12, 1851, the report of the Chief Engineer was published in the Jefferson City *Enquirer*. The beauty and fertility of the country along the inland route were set forth; but the cost of constructing the road on that location, according to the estimates presented, would be $168,923 more than on the other. The opinion of the Chief Engineer, it was evident, inclined toward the choice of


LEGEND.
RAILWAYS PROJECTED IN 1836-37
EXTENT OF CONSTRUCTION WHILE THE STATE WAS AIDING THE RAILWAYS. 1851 — 60.
EXTENT OF CONSTRUCTION BY PRIVATE COMPANIES OF RAILWAYS FORMERLY AIDED BY THE STATE; THE CONSTUCTION OF THIS PORTION WAS A CONDITION OF RELEASE, FROM LIENS.
KANSAS
ILLINOIS
Forest City Apr. 1860.
Savannah Jan. 1863.
St. Joseph
H. & St. J. R. R. Feb. 13, 1859
P. C. R. R. begun 1859
Atchison
Weston Apr. 1860.
Liberty
Liberty Landing
MISSOURI
Lexington
Kansas City
West Port
Independence Sept. 19, 1865.
Pleasant Hill July 19, 1865.
Holden May 28, 1865.
Dresden May 10, 1863.
Sedalia Sept. 8, 1861
Georgetown
Otterville Aug. 24, 1860.
Tipton Dec. 24, 1858.
Jefferson City Mar. 12, 1856.
Warsaw
River
Osceola
Osage
Springfield
Wilson's Creek
Neosho
Neosho R.
Grand R.
Arrow Rock
New Franklin
Fayette
Boonville
Rocheport
Columbia
Sturgeon
Moberly (?) Dec. 1858.
Oct. 1850.
Macon Feb. 1, 1858
N. M. R. R.
Monticello
La Grange
Palmyra
Hannibal
Louisiana
Bowling Green
Paynesville
Mexico Apr. 1858.
Montgomery City Dec. 1857.
Warrenton Aug. 1858.
St. Charles
Grafton
St. Louis
N. M. R. R.
P. R. R. begun July 4, 1851.
I. M. R. R. begun 1853.
S. W. B. begun 1855.
Pacific July 23, 1855.
Washington Feb. 18, 1855.
Hermann Aug. 4, 1855.
Gasconade
Rolla Dec. 20, 1860.
Meramec
Potosi
Caledonia
Pilot Knob Apr. 1858.
Mine La Motte
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
Cape Girardeau
Commerce
St. Francis R.
Current R.
Burlington
Dec. 1858. Oct. 1859.
Bird's Point
New Madrid
J. Manz & Co. Eng. Chic.

MAP OF MISSOURI, SHOWING STATE-AIDED RAILWAYS

Reproduced with alterations from Professor John W. Million's *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

the river route. Both routes, however, had ardent advocates; and the supporters of the inland route set actively to work to secure the location of the road along the line which they favored.

It is at this point that the services of George R. Smith became of prime importance. For several years before the chartering of the Company he had taken a keen interest in all discussions looking toward railroad building; and when that charter was voted he gave the project his cordial support. As early as October 22, 1850, he entered into correspondence with Thomas Allen, President of the road, urging the latter to visit Pettis county and address the people. Early in 1851, at Allen's suggestion, he procured signatures to a petition addressed to the Pettis county representative in the legislature, instructing him to support the application of the Company for a loan of State credit for building the road. Now that the question had become a contest between the rival routes, he threw himself with ardor into the struggle. The river counties already possessed an outlet by water for their produce. To the inland counties victory meant industrial salvation. No one was better acquainted with Central Missouri, and the country west and southwest, with all its latent possibilities, than General Smith. Since 1834, he had ridden again and again over half the land of Central and Southwestern Missouri. He knew the industrial resources of Western Missouri, and also of the Kansas region and the Indian territory; he knew intimately the prairies and ridges, the valleys and river bottoms, the swamps and forests, along each of the routes in competition. In his mind's eye was a map of much of the country concerned, graven by days of weary travel and hardship. He knew the region better than the engineers of the survey; and he felt that in many ways the advantages of the river route were less than was indicated by the report. What advantages it did possess the inland counties might overcome by liberal grants in aid of the road. The river counties were richer and better able to make subscriptions than those along the inland route; but the need of the latter was the greater. Energy and perseverance might win the road for that route; and to the task General Smith set himself with all the vehemence of his ardent nature.

His first move was to summon a meeting of the citizens of Pettis county at Georgetown, in January, 1852, to consider the question of voting a subscription to the road. The people in general were apathetic or opposed to the project, and from short-sighted economy, or narrow-minded conservatism, seemed likely to take no effective action in the matter; yet by active solicitation in person and by letter, General Smith succeeded in getting a good attendance. But when a proposition was made that Pettis county should subscribe $75,000 to the stock of the Company, it was voted down by a decided majority. Various propositions were then made and negatived, until at last a motion to subscribe even $10,000 was emphatically rejected.

General Smith could never quite shake off a certain diffidence in public speaking, and had remained silent up to this point. Now he came forward, and in a speech of two hours so wrought upon his auditors that the temper of the meeting was entirely changed. His varied information of the possibilities of the country, his intimate knowledge of the character and habits of thought of his people, his native Kentucky eloquence, and above all his business common-sense, enabled him to present urgent and convincing arguments in favor of the road. The very men who had just voted down a grant of $10,000 now joined in voting a subscription of $100,000. An election at which the matter was to be finally voted on by the county was set for next August, and General Smith promised to canvass the county before election day. This promise he more than made good. Leaving his other business to take care of itself, he mounted his horse and rode into every township, urging the people everywhere to vote the grant. The result of his seven months' labor was that when election day came the citizens of the county, whose whole assessed valuation was not over $500,000, voted by a majority of nearly five to one to grant $100,000 to the new road.

The other counties along the inland route voted sums which raised the total subscription for this route to several hundred thousand dollars. In view of this liberal aid to the road, the next legislature, by an act approved December 25, 1852, located the road along the inland route. This action, however, was only secured after a hard fight. "The decided majority," wrote ex-Governor Thomas C. Fletcher of those events in 1892, "favored the river route. Senator Grover and George R. Smith unitedly made such a fight for the present location as at last prevailed. Grover succeeded in getting on an amendment, with the assistance of General Smith, which made the act voting the bonds in aid of the road conditional that the road should go through Johnson county and consequently through Pettis county. I was a mere youth then, acting as an amanuensis or clerk for the promoters of the railroad at Jefferson City. There was what is called by parliamentary solicitors 'some hard work' after adjournment and before the meeting of the House and Senate,—vulgarly called 'lobbying.' The co-operation of Grover and Smith put the railroad where it is to-day. Grover led the fight in the Senate, and Smith did the general management outside as well as inside the halls of legislation."

The action of the legislature was conditioned on the seven counties concerned (Cole, Moniteau, Cooper, Pettis, Johnson, Cass, and Jackson), raising an additional subscription of $400,000 before the end of 1853. This portion of the act reads as follows:

§ 11. The Pacific railroad shall be deemed a railroad beginning in the city of St. Louis and running westwardly by the way of Jefferson City; and thence along the best and most practicable inland route through the county of Johnson, and terminating at any point in Jackson county which may be designated by the said Company, anything contained in the charter thereof to the contrary notwithstanding; provided, the counties west of Jefferson City through which said road shall run, and those contiguous thereto, and individuals in the same, shall subscribe in good faith four hundred thousand dollars to the capital stock of said Company, in addition to the amount already subscribed; and if said four hundred thousand dollars additional stock should not be subscribed in good faith to said Company within twelve months from and after the passage of this act, the said Pacific Railroad Company shall be free to select any location they may deem expedient; and provided further, that the right of way can be obtained upon said route upon as good terms as any other. . . And for the purpose more effectually of securing the completion of the said Pacific railroad, the Governor of the State shall cause to be issued and delivered to said Company, upon their application and acceptance, in addition to the amount authorized to be loaned to said Company by the first section of the act approved February 22d, 1851, fifty thousand dollars of the State bonds for every fifty thousand dollars of the money of said Company actually expended in the construction of said Pacific railroad, whether the said money be collected from the capital stock, or derived from any other source other than the proceeds of sales of State bonds, upon the like proof, terms, conditions, and liabilities, and of the like character and denominations, as prescribed in the act aforesaid; provided that the total amount of State bonds to be issued to said Company under this section shall not exceed one million of dollars, and the said Company shall complete the said line to its terminus in Jackson county, and put the same in operation, within five years after the passage of this act.

News of the action of the legislature is contained in a letter from President Allen dated January 1, 1853. In this, the resources of the road are enumerated. There was $1,900,000 in county and other subscriptions, together with 150,000 acres of land estimated as worth $375,000, making a total (as figured by Mr. Allen) of $2,375,000. To secure the full amount of State aid voted the road, $625,000 in private and county subscriptions must still be raised. "This," continues President Allen, "will very nearly build the road. The rest we hope to make up by our credit, and contractors who will take ten per cent. of their work in stock. Our road will be open to Franklin county in the spring, and we shall be working this way all the year. Let the friends of the road work, and we will put it through quicker than many people imagine."

General Smith set to work to raise the additional $400,000 needed to assure the inland route. By his exertions a "Pacific Railroad Committee for Pettis County" was organized, of which he was chosen chairman; a railroad convention was called at Georgetown for the second Monday in February, 1853; an address to the people was prepared, General Smith and Judge H. P. Gray being the authors; and printed copies of this, with invitations to attend the proposed convention, were sent to all the prominent men in the counties concerned. The response to this appeal was gratifying. Two men in particular, S. H. Woodson of Jackson county, and B. W. Grover of Johnson, were enlisted in the movement, and became, with General Smith, the staunchest workers for the inland route. Both announced their intention of attending the convention; but two days before it assembled, Mr. Grover found that his duties as State Senator would detain him at Jefferson City, and was obliged to content himself with sending a letter of advice and admonition:

> Having responded to your invitation to attend the proposed Railroad Convention at Georgetown [he wrote], and my public duties being such as to deny me the pleasure of meeting with you on that occasion as I had hoped and expected, I beg leave to offer a few suggestions, in reference to the duty of the counties interested in the inland location of the Pacific railroad.
>
> In the first place, it must not be overlooked that the river counties have not yet despaired of securing the location of the road. To that end, for the next two years, they intend to strain every nerve—relax no exertion—spare no efforts—to outbid us, as well as out log-roll us in the next General Assembly to dislocate the road. Their hopes are hung upon the isolated proposition that the Company will not be able to build the road farther west than Jefferson City by the meeting of the next General Assembly; that then the means of the Company will make it necessary to rely upon the large river subscription to complete the road. Such, I understand from reliable sources, is the argument used at Lexington and Boonville.
>
> Now what, under such circumstances, ought we to do? It seems to me that our duty is not only plain, but imperative; and that is, to come forward without delay at the earliest possible moment, and

subscribe the additional stock made necessary by the law to fix and forever settle the question as to the location of the Pacific railroad. That amount is $400,000 on the part of individuals and counties through which the road may pass and those contiguous thereto, in addition to the present amount of the capital stock of said Company. Now, I take it, when the counties have complied with the requisition of the eleventh section of the law, and these subscriptions are entered upon the stock book of the Company, then, and then only, will rights vest in these counties which can not be affected by any future legislature without their assent.

Our action, therefore, ought to be prompt and immediate. Our additional subscription ought by all means to be entered on the stock book of the Company, if possible, before the annual meeting of the Board of Directors, which is, I believe, on the fourth Monday of March next.

To that end I respectfully suggest that immediate steps be taken, in all the counties interested, to circulate petitions to the several county courts, praying the subscription of the additional stock contemplated by the eleventh section of the bill to which I have referred.

Looking to the immense stake we have in this great question, I hope whatever action may be determined upon by the united counsels of the convention will secure the great object we have in view, and its results may then contribute a just proportion to the development of the resources and prosperity of those whose interests you represent.

On the day of the convention about thirty persons interested in the work were present. After a preliminary organization, General Smith explained the purpose of their meeting, and moved the appointment of a committee of two delegates from each county to apportion the $400,000 needed in subscriptions among the counties, towns, and individuals interested. This was done, and the committee reported an apportionment based on the assessed valuation of property for taxation. The report was unanimously adopted, and before separating, subject to call, the members pledged themselves to use their utmost endeavors to see that the people of their counties should vote at the August elections the amount apportioned to each.

Between February and election day (August 1), General Smith continued unremittingly his efforts. When the vote was counted it was found that Pettis county had voted her quota of $70,000 additional subscription by a good majority. In all the other counties, where equal efforts had not been made, an emphatic negative was returned at the polls.

When this discouraging news was received it was hoped, for a time, that the Company might still select the inland route. This illusion was dispelled by the following letter from President Allen to Mr. Grover, dated August 8, 1853:

> In regard to the probabilities of location of the Pacific railroad west of Jefferson City, we are only waiting for action under the law, and have to give time until Christmas. My opinion is that if the $400,000 should be raised as required, and in good faith, the location will go on the Johnson county route. But if it is not raised as required, and in good faith, I am inclined to think the river or Boonville route will be taken. These are merely opinions.

I agree with you in the importance of settling the question, in order not only to relieve the public mind, but to get the entire line under contract. We shall, however, want all the stock you can raise. We have not succeeded as yet with our loan, and may not possibly for some time. This makes additional subscriptions absolutely necessary. The more subscriptions we get, the better our chances of effecting a loan. You will perceive, therefore, that we confidently rely upon increased subscriptions, and that there is not only no reason for abating efforts to get them, but new reasons for increased and persevering exertions. With our present stock we can not carry the road beyond Jefferson City. There is every inducement, therefore, for exertion to those who want the road beyond.

To a subsequent letter of inquiry addressed by General Smith to Luther M. Kennett, one of the directors, the latter replied, August 22, in these terms:

Your letter of 15th instant is before me. Have delayed replying that I might see Mr. Allen, the President of the Company, and be able to give you all the information possible. Your newspapers are abusing the Board of Directors of the Pacific railroad without stint, and utterly without reason. Previous to the examination of the river route, the feeling of the Board, as I informed you, was in favor of the inland route almost unanimously. The surveys and report of the Engineer have, however, raised a doubt in the minds of some of the Directors as to which line is preferable. Nevertheless, I am of opinion, and so is the President, that the legislature have virtually located the road, provided you comply with the condition imposed, and that the Board of Directors are both legally and morally bound to respect that location. In other words, that the road will be located on the inland route, if the counties and individuals on that line subscribe $400,000 in addition to what they had previously subscribed.

So far as we are advised, you have only yet made up additional $50,000 in Pettis, $25,000 in Moniteau, and $50,000 in Johnson—$125,000 in all, and leaving you still $275,000 to raise, instead of $75,000 as you state. This difficulty can not be got over by withdrawing your original county subscriptions and making new ones, and then counting all as additional, as some think may be done. Even with the $400,000 additional subscriptions required by the act of the legislature, you will have only a little over $600,000 on your line, whilst the subscriptions on the river line will be nearly $900,000. The Company can not build the road without means, and will go where the means can be had,—indeed must do it; so there is no hope for you, unless you can make up at least what the act of the legislature requires. There is more of the road now under construction, from Franklin Station, thirty-seven miles from St. Louis, to Jefferson City, than we have provision to pay for, using State credit as fast as we can avail ourselves of it; so that you see the hue and cry about not locating the whole road at once, and going to work upon it, is all nonsense. Besides, we are bound to wait the twelve months from December last, to see if the inland route makes up her subscription and claims the road. As you seem to think this will require a great effort (believing only $75,000 necessary), I fear it will look squally when you set out to get $275,000. Mr. Allen informs me he has written all these things in full to Messrs. Woodson and Grover, with whom you will doubtless confer.

Messrs. Smith, Grover, and Woodson had not awaited this letter before setting to work again on the agitation for additional subscriptions. The means taken to secure these are indicated in a letter, dated August 12, from Mr. Grover to General Smith:

> I enclose you a notice of railroad meetings on the line of the inland location of the Pacific railroad, which, after mature deliberation and consultation among the friends of the road, is believed to be the only feasible and speedy plan to raise the balance of the stock. You will perceive that these appointments are made under the sanction of the central committee, to whom I request you to show it and get their co-operation. I have made the appointments without first consulting them, because I was anxious to secure the aid and services of Woodson, who will co-operate with us. I expect to be with you at all of the places appointed, and hope you will make your arrangements to attend all the meetings. I will have the notices published in the Lexington *Express* and *Occidental Messenger* (Independence), and will rely upon you and the central committee giving sufficient publicity to it on your end of the line. Send copy to Seely's store (Tipton), and Elkton, and have sufficient notice given in your county. I have made these appointments to meet my own and Woodson's convenience, and hope they will also suit yours.

In this campaign, circumstances forced General Smith to take the chief part. The strain of the work proved too much for the health of Mr. Grover, and he was obliged to give over the task for a number of weeks. Woodson, too, found the necessities of his private affairs such that he wrote (September 13) to Smith: "I am now, and will be for three weeks to come, necessarily confined here at Independence by the session of our Circuit Court; and the burden must yet longer remain on the shoulders of yourself and our excellent friend Grover." And again, on September 24: "It requires yet more of the same energy, industry, and perseverance that have characterized your efforts for some time past; and we shall all look to Grover and yourself to complete the work commenced and prosecuted by you with so much vigor and success."

Despite discouragements, General Smith pressed on with dogged resolution, passing from town to town, from hamlet to hamlet, speaking wherever he could get a handful of people together, and everywhere imparting to his hearers some share of his own enthusiasm. The counties along the inland route were poor and sparsely settled, the toal population of the eight being only 85,540; and three of them (Cole, Moniteau, and Jackson) were almost equally interested in either route. Of Jackson Mr. Woodson wrote July 23, 1853: "Our county is peculiarly situated in regard to the road, and can not be expected to feel the same interest in the ridge route as the people of your county and Johnson, but I think a large majority are anxious that it should run upon the ridge; and it is only necessary for me to assure you that my interest in that route is unabated. I am ready at almost any sacrifice to devote myself to the work of raising the required amount." In the river counties, including the three just named, the census of 1850 showed 16,422 more persons than in the counties of the inland route. The river counties, moreover, had been settled for years; they were comparatively well improved; the rich slave owners lived there, raising hemp and tobacco, corn, hogs and cattle; and they had almost at their doors one of the finest rivers in the world to bear their produce to market. They were in a far better position to subscribe liberally to the road than were the inland counties. They felt the road was already theirs, not dreaming that the inland counties would comply with the conditions of the law. Yet in the face of all this, General Smith made headway. On his return from his first canvass, he published a call for a second meeting of the convention; and when that body reassembled on September 28th, he reported that at nearly every place of importance where he had spoken he had succeeded in getting signatures to powers of attorney authorizing him to subscribe, in the name of the signers, for varying amounts of stock.

This success revived the drooping spirits of the convention, and the members went home resolved for more vigorous action. In the river counties also the news aroused the people to greater exertions. Some bitterness accompanied the rivalry, and General Smith was pained at times to find distorted reports of his speeches made the ground for newspaper attacks upon him by his opponents. In the main, however, the struggle was an amicable one, as is shown by the following extract from a letter dated October 11, from his old friend and former associate in the freighting business, W. H. Russell:

> How gets on the railroad? Our prospect seems to brighten, and if so yours must be on the wane. Do not despair, for we will not be outdone in kind offers; if successful on the river, you shall certainly be allowed the privilege you so generously offered to us, that of tapping our road with one of plank, which will enable you to get your produce to market with much less labor than on the present mud-road system.

After another month's labor, the convention assembled on October 25th, and again a favorable report was made, though the total subscriptions pledged were not yet equal to the amount required. The advocates of the inland route set to work once more with renewed determination to complete the task.

Along the inland route itself, differences of opinion and interest developed as to the exact location of the road; and prospective subscribers sometimes wished to make their subscriptions conditional upon the road taking this or that particular course. The following correspondence indicates this, and is of interest also because the reply of General Smith is almost the only letter of his, other than those to members of his own family, which has been preserved. Under date of November 15, 1853, Thos. S. McChesney wrote:

I received your line after my arrival home from Jackson county, and could not be at your last railroad meeting at Wagon Knob. After the meeting at Chapel Hill, I rode a day soliciting subscriptions of the capital stock; but I found the folks in my bounds very unwilling to assign any amount of importance, but wishing to take large stock conditional. I therefore concluded not to send my list unless positively necessary to fill the requirements of the law locating the inland route. I am therefore appointed to say to you, for the Board of Directors of the road, that we can make some $30,000 to $50,000 in forty-eight hours in good faith to the capital stock of said road, on the condition that the road will be located on the Singleton Wagon Knob route. So, sir, if you think it prudent or advisable to do so, you will please send me a form of subscription and any directions you may think necessary, and your opinion fully on that subject. This route will suit you as well as either route, as it will diverge west of Georgetown; and we suppose the largest bid will probably take the road. Sir, please to let us hear at your earliest convenience from you that we may know how to act.

General Smith replied, December 8:

I received yours sometime since in relation to subscribing stock to the Pacific railroad. I can not tell what effect it might have upon the location of the road if you who are anxious for its location on the Simpson Ridge would come forward with a heavy subscription; it might go far towards securing the location upon the ridge. I can only say what course I should take if I occupied the position of the friends of that route; and that would be to offer in the way of subscription an amount sufficient to induce them to survey that route. I was informed several times, and by several different persons, that $50,000 or $75,000 could be readily raised if the road would take that route. The latter amount, no doubt, would have considerable weight, especially if it is a fact, as I was told it was, that the Simpson Ridge is nearer and the grades easier than the Chapel Hill route. Next spring there will be a corps of engineers on the road, and the location definitely fixed. In the meantime, I can see no injury that can result by an effort of the friends of the Simpson Ridge to subscribe an amount sufficient to induce the location, if possible, on that route. The friends of the present survey having subscribed liberally will, as a matter of course, have considerable influence in adopting that survey.

In November a final meeting of the convention was called by General Smith, and all persons holding powers of attorney authorizing subscriptions were notified to send them to him at Georgetown. The convention reassembled with a large attendance. The powers of attorney, together with a list of all subscriptions, were turned over to a committee to examine and compute the total amount; and it was found that subscriptions had been made (in addition to the amounts subscribed prior to the act of December 25, 1852) of $412,000.

The battle—hard to the point of hopelessness—seemed won. But a new difficulty arose when, upon reporting the subscriptions to the Directors, a flaw was found by them in the subscriptions of Jackson county. By reason of the short interval before the expiration of the time fixed by law, the whole matter was thus thrown into jeopardy. Again General Smith proved equal to the emergency, and by personally guaranteeing, with some other gentlemen, the amount of the Jackson county subscription, the difficulty was overcome.

At last, on November 14, 1853, the Directors passed this vote, definitely locating the road on the inland route:

> *Whereas,* the counties contiguous to and along the line of the inland route of the Pacific railroad, and the citizens of said counties, having in good faith as we believe secured to the Company the free right of way and raised the additional subscription of Four Hundred Thousand Dollars, as required by the eleventh section of the act of the legislature approved December 25, 1852, therefore
>
> *Resolved,* that said Pacific railroad west of Jefferson City be and the same is hereby located along the inland route through Johnson county to such termination in Jackson county as shall be hereafter fixed by the Company, in accordance with the provisions of the eleventh section of the act above recited.

The importance of this success to the counties of the inland route can scarcely be overestimated. That region was thus assured an outlet through one of the first railroads constructed west of the Mississippi; and priority in time counts for much in such matters. They were assured, too, of being in the line of a direct route to the Pacific coast. Before the road was completed across Missouri, Kansas took up the task of construction; and though the

Civil War checked the progress of the work, and after that the enormous bounty of Congress to the Union Pacific road enabled that line first to reach the Western Ocean, yet the Missouri Pacific was still to become a road of the first magnitude, and one of the main routes to the Pacific coast. The location of the road on this route meant the founding of new towns in the counties concerned, including Sedalia, the especial creation of General Smith; it meant also the rapid development of many old towns, and a large increase of the whole region in wealth and population. It is not too much to say that in great part the exceptional prosperity of this section of Missouri is due to the location of the Pacific road on the inland route. That this was done, as has already been shown, was chiefly due to the energy, courage, and ability of George R. Smith.

CHAPTER VIII

IN THE LEGISLATURE

(1854—1855)

Election to the legislature—Personnel of the Assembly—Organization and committees. (I) Rival candidates for United States senatorship—Cause of Democratic opposition to Benton; the Jackson resolutions—General Smith's attitude in the senatorial contest—Inability of Whigs to elect Doniphan—Failure to elect a Senator. (II) The railroads and the legislature—General Smith's continued services in the interest of the Pacific road—Elected member of its Board of Directors—Report of joint committee of the two houses on railroads—Conflict between the Southwest Branch and the Pacific road—General Smith's speech—Union of railroad interests in the railroad bill of the second session—Prospects of the bill—General Smith's services in securing its passage—Its final passage over the Governor's veto.

The vigorous aid which General Smith gave to the Pacific road while the project was before the people, he was soon in a position to supplement by equally vigorous action in the legislature. Twice before he had been the Whig candidate for representative from Pettis county, but had suffered defeat at the polls. In 1854, with the prestige of his brilliant railroad campaign, he for a third time made the race, and, aided by the mutual jealousies of the Benton and anti-Benton wings of the Democratic party, was elected by a good plurality.

While the campaign was still on, General Smith received the following letter from his friend, John S. Jones. It is dated Washington, D. C., June 30, 1854, and shows admirably the feelings against which a Whig in Central Missouri at this time had to contend:

> I hope you will make a respectable race for the legislature, but hope a good Democrat will beat you by a small majority. I don't want you beat so bad as to mortify your feelings at all; for I do think as clever a man as you are ought to have kept up with the times, and you should have now been a good Democrat. There is no such thing recognized here as a Whig party south of Mason and Dixon's line; there is only a sectional Whig party at war on the institutions of the South. Governor Jones of Tennessee has declared himself separated from the party, and that no such party exists in the South, only to co-operate with Free-Soilers and Abolitionists.
>
> You have taken back all you ever said about Benton; now come out, General, in the same manner about Whiggery. Throw yourself loose from Free-Soilism; for every Whig elected South is considered an Abolition victory here. I know you are wedded to the old name Whig, but still I think you have patriotism enough to overcome that, if pride was not in the way. But conscience ought to overrule pride, and you should come out a good Democrat.
>
> Poor old Bullion, he has gone clear over. He is

now down on the administration, and thrown himself in the arms of Free-Soilers and Abolitionists. His vote you will have already seen on Giddings' resolution to expel the editors of *Union* from the House. Benton voted with a small minority not to lay the resolution on the table.

By General Smith's political opponents it was charged, during his legislative term, that he occupied his position as representative from Pettis county "by accident rather than by the choice of the people." To this he replied with a letter, dated May 5, 1855, to the editor of the *Southwest Democrat*, in which the following account of his nomination and election was given:

> In April, 1854, a mass meeting of the Whigs of Pettis county was called. Notice of the meeting was posted at all the public places in the county, calling on the Whigs to meet on the first day of our Circuit Court, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the congressional convention, and also to select a candidate to represent us in the State legislature, and to select candidates for the county offices. Well, sir, the convention met on the day proposed in the advertisements, and, with only one exception, it was decidedly the largest political gathering I have ever seen in the county, of any party. I was absent from the county for some weeks before the convention came off, and did not return until the day before it assembled. I had nothing to do with the call for the convention, nor any of my friends, so far as I know. It was stated to me on the morning of the convention by several of my friends that it had been called to defeat me,

and that the last Whig in the county who was known to be opposed to me was in the town, and they feared my defeat was certain. Well, sir, the convention met and was organized. A gentleman in every sense of that term, a decided and a very prominent Whig, enjoying the confidence of all men of all parties, and myself, were nominated, and I was selected by (as I was informed, for I did not attend the convention) an overwhelming majority, the lowest I have ever heard it stated was six to one. I was waited upon the same day, and informed of the result. I accepted the nomination and announced myself a candidate,—was the first candidate announced by some two or three weeks, and continued upon the track until the close of the election. Various efforts were made by the opposite party to defeat me. Several conventions were called; finally two candidates were run against me, Benton and anti-Benton. The two together, I think, beat me some ten or fifteen votes. Many of the anti-Benton party declared their intention to vote for me, if there was the slightest prospect of the election of the Benton candidate, whilst many more of the Benton party declared their intention to vote for me, if there was the slightest prospect of the election of the anti-Benton candidate.

The Assembly of which General Smith was a member was distinguished for the large number of men it contained who were then or have since become notable in State or national affairs. Among numerous testimonies to this effect, that of Judge J. C. Fagg may here be cited:

My acquaintance with General George R. Smith [wrote Judge Fagg in 1892, in response to inquiries from General Smith's family] began early in the month of January, 1855. I can not separate the incident of my introduction to him from the fact that it was the beginning of my own experience in public affairs and my first contact with the prominent men of the State. I have had some knowledge of every legislative body that has convened at the State capital since that time. The circle of my personal acquaintance, and association with, the men who have been conspicuous in the political arena as well as in the legal profession has greatly enlarged in the thirty-seven years that have intervened, and my conviction is that the legislature of 1854-55 contained a greater number of able and experienced representatives than have ever assembled in council at Jefferson City since. It will be necessary to mention only the names of a portion of them to satisfy all who are familiar with the political history of the State that this statement is true. General Alexander W. Doniphan represented Clay county. Francis P Blair, Jr., George W. Goode, Samuel M. Breckenridge, B. Gratz Brown, Richard J. Barret, and Albert Todd were from St. Louis. Major James S. Rollins and General Odon Guitar were the members from Boone county. Charles H. Hardin was one of the representatives from Callaway, George Medley of Cole, General John W. Reid of Jackson, General George R. Smith of Pettis, and Louis V. Bogy of Ste. Genevieve. . . . In the long list of members, I have constantly carried in memory the names of a large number of others not so conspicuous in the debates, but who were nevertheless able and efficient legislators. I may mention Colonel Joe Davis of Howard, Colonel James H. Britton of Lincoln, Colonel Marcus Boyd of Green, Cyrus H. Frost of Texas, Colonel Robert Acock of Polk, John Doniphan of Platte, and many other hard-working intelligent members. In the Senate there were Henry T. Blow of St. Louis, C. C. Ziegler of Ste. Genevieve, Robert M. Stewart of Buchanan, General John D. Stevenson of Franklin, Colonel Robert Wilson of Andrew, Peter Carr of Pike, Charles Simms of Cass, and others equally able and worthy.

Politically the lower house was about equally divided between the Whigs, the Benton, and the anti-Benton Democrats,—the Whigs having a slight plurality over either of the others. With the aid of Benton votes, the Whigs for the first time in a generation elected their candidate, William Newland of Ralls county, as Speaker. General Smith received the compliment of Mr. Newland's own vote for Speaker throughout the contest; and he was appointed to the important committees on elections and on internal improvements. His name further appears as chairman for the House of the joint committee to examine the condition and management of the Penitentiary.

The question of immediate political importance before this Assembly was the election of a United States Senator. Of this contest, and General Smith's attitude toward the factional struggles to which it gave rise, Judge Fagg writes, in the account before quoted:

> Colonel Thomas H. Benton, Missouri's great Senator for six lustrums, was asking a re-election as a Democrat. The term of General David R. Atchison was also about to expire, and these two leaders of opposing elements in the Democratic

party were for the first time arrayed against each other as candidates for the same senatorial term. Colonel Benton's term had expired in March, 1851, and the Hon. Henry S. Geyer of St. Louis was elected to succeed him.[1] The Whig party was nomi-

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[1] An account of the election of Geyer was given to General Smith by A. M. Coffy, Representative from Pettis county, in a letter written at intervals January 17th to 19th, 1851:

"Last evening we completed the twenty-fifth ballot for United States Senator without any change in the result except an addition to our strength of three votes, viz.: Stewart from Buchanan, Hunter, and Doherty, all anti-Benton.

"We are in the midst of an excitement such as has not been witnessed at Jefferson City for many years. The hotels are filled with visitors, and the outsiders are as much engrossed in the election as members, and are indeed exercising an unfortunate influence at this juncture. Many are made to hold on by threats and denunciations. The Antis—a majority of them, I mean—desire the election of Geyer; and but for the imprudence of two or three Whigs he would now have been the Senator.

"10:30 a.m.—The twenty-sixth vote is just commenced; result: Geyer 70, Benton 54, Green 31—a gain to Geyer upon the vote of last evening of three—Frost, and Harrison, and ———, Antis.

"January 18.—We had but one balloting yesterday, the result of which I gave you. In the progress of the ballotings the last two days a wide latitude has been taken by various persons in discussing the merits of the various candidates, to the great detriment and delay of important public business. Our country is cursed,—all parties are cursed,—with designing aspiring demagogues, who seek their own advancement, reckless of their country's interests; and I shall not be surprised if the pursuit of this object shall not only defeat the election of Senator, but other important measures. Last night the two wings of Democracy held a joint meeting. All except Democratic members were excluded. I am, however, in a condition to know what transpires at the meetings of the Antis, or in their joint meetings. It is agreed among them that neither Benton nor Green can succeed, but a jealousy of each other has so far prevented the suggestion of any other name. Each is striving for the vantage ground, and if the leaders can control they will permit the State to go unrepresented rather than elect a Whig.

"January 19.—Since the adjournment of the House another effort has been made to unite the two wings, but without success; and I can now almost give assurance that on to-morrow, Monday, Henry S. Geyer will be announced by the cannon's thunder and the nally united and was represented in the senatorial contest by General Alexander W. Doniphan of Clay county. No correct idea of General Smith's career as a public man can be had without a knowledge of the character and political status of the men with whom he was in contact, and the influences that were then shaping the legislation of the State.

From the time of Colonel Benton's appeal to the people from the resolutions adopted by the Missouri legislature in 1849, down to the election of members in 1854, there had been the most bitter and fierce political warfare ever waged in the State. To understand it thoroughly we should have to go back to the very beginning of the controversy about the admission of slave property into the territories. But my purpose is to begin with what is known as the "Jackson resolutions." Claiborne F. Jackson, of Howard, was the reputed author, and they will always be known in the history of the State by his name. They assumed that the Northern portion of the United States had made war upon the institution of slavery, and that the refusal of Congress to recognize and protect slaves as property in the territories was but the initiatory step towards its ultimate extinction in the States. This movement, beginning with what is known in the history of the times as the "Wilmot Proviso," was denounced as an encroachment upon the rights of the South, and

winged lightnings as the successor of Thomas H. Benton. My knowledge of what transpires in their caucuses enables me to predict this result with much confidence."

After his defeat for the Senate, Benton secured an election to the lower house of Congress from the St. Louis district, but was defeated for re-election in 1854 by a former Whig, who ran as a "Know Nothing." Though upwards of seventy years of age and feeble in health, Benton renewed the contest for the Senate in 1854. In 1856 he was an independent candidate for Governor, and died in 1858.

the fifth in the series of resolutions pledged the State to an unconditional co-operation with the Southern States in such measures as might be deemed necessary to resist it.[2]

Colonel Benton, with his usual promptness and vigor, denounced them at once as "a fire-brand" thrown out to kindle the flames of rebellion and disunion. The opposition to him was led by some of the ablest men in the State, including Jackson of Howard, Hudson of St. Louis, Bogy of Ste. Genevieve, Stewart of Buchanan, Medley of Cole, and a great many others. I do not propose to write the history of that struggle among the leading Democrats of the State, nor shall I attempt to describe the bitter proscriptive spirit by which it was characterized. The tyranny of opinion connected with the institution of slavery had never so fiercely asserted itself before, and its power fell with crushing force upon every opposing obstacle. Nominally a fight inside of the Democratic party, it nevertheless extended itself into the ranks of the Whig

[2] These resolutions may be found in full in Carr's *Missouri*, pp. 223-5, and in Switzler's *Missouri*, 265-268. They declare: That any attempt of Congress to legislate "so as to affect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the territories" is a violation of the principles upon which the Constitution was founded; that any organization of the territories which precluded inhabitants of the Southern States removing thither with their slaves, "would be an exercise of power by Congress inconsistent with the spirit upon which our federal compact was based, insulting to the sovereignty and dignity of the States thus affected, and calculated to alienate one portion of the Union from another, and tending ultimately to disunion"; that the people alone of the territory, at the time of forming a State government or subsequently, can prohibit slavery in that territory; and finally, that "in the event of the passage of any act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, Missouri will be found in hearty co-operation with the slaveholding States, in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism."

party, and threatened its integrity also. The anti-Benton element in the Democratic party not only questioned the soundness of Benton's followers upon the slavery question, but in their newspapers and in their public discussions tried to force every Whig candidate for office to take sides in the controversy. It was a trying ordeal through which they were compelled to pass as well as the Democrats.

There were many faint-hearted, cowardly men, who tried to evade the issue and to profit by the dissensions in the Democratic ranks; but General Smith was not one of them. He was a Kentucky Whig after the model of Henry Clay. His Southern birth and education, however, did not extinguish the national impulses and patriotic fire that burned in his heart. He loved his whole country, and his life was consecrated to the purpose of holding the States together in one common bond of union, and in promoting the best interests and developing to the largest extent and in the most rapid manner every element of material wealth within its boundaries. Whilst he was a pronounced partisan and clung with great tenacity to the creed and policy of his party, he did not seek a place in the State legislature for political purposes. He met courageously every political issue involved in the campaigns of 1854, and did not deceive any portion of his constituency in regard to his position upon the admission of slaves into the territories. He was not himself deceived as to the true purpose and object of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and knew that the Southern wing of the Whig party was really in sympathy with the advocates of that measure. He entertained grave fears as to the ability of his own party to avoid disruption from the same cause that had produced a division of the Democrats. But none of these things moved him. The object that engrossed his attention and commanded his best thoughts and energies was the development of the resources of the State of Missouri. His home and his interests were all here. He had examined carefully the vast area of fertile lands lying west of the State capital and extending from the Missouri river to the southern boundary of the State. He saw that the key to that territory was neither the Missouri nor the Osage rivers; that the settlement and improvement of that vast body of rich land could only be secured within a reasonable time by the building of a main line of railway from east to west through the best portion of it. He knew that when that was accomplished branches would be thrown out in various directions, and that other lines would cross or intersect it at such points as would in a short time reach every portion of the great Southwest. Then this main line must of necessity pass through his county and be within reach of his own domicile. It is true that he must have seen that the line west of Jefferson City and running in the direction of Kansas City would necessarily be so located as to benefit him individually; but he was too broad and liberal in his views to have been controlled by mere selfish considerations. An enlightened self-interest has been the great motive power by which some of the largest public benefits have accrued to the world. Individual victories and successes in the promotion of public improvements are the incidents which rightfully belong to the enterprising men who devote their time and energies to the work. General Smith was not indifferent to the political questions of the day. He did not lose his interest in the plans and expedients which were deemed necessary to the success of his own party organization; but as a State legislator he had a desire and a purpose which dominated for the time being all other aims connected with his legislative career. It was the main purpose for which he had sought and obtained a seat in the legislature, and to its accomplishment he bent all his energies and directed all his thoughts.

How near the railroad cause was to General Smith's heart, and how completely it overshadowed, in his view, all other issues for Central Missouri, may be seen from a letter to friends of the road in Cooper county. As few of his letters to others than members of his family have been preserved, it is given entire.

Georgetown, June 12th, 1854.

Dear Sirs:

Before this reaches you, you will have heard what we have done with our railroad. We have let the whole route from Jefferson City to its western terminus in Jackson county. In order that we may be enabled to complete it, we have yet much to do, not only by additional subscriptions, but by legislative aid.

I have been requested by the Directors to enter again upon the task,—to appeal to the friends of the road, and ask them once more to come forward and aid in this great enterprise. I shall in due time send out my appointments, so that you all shall know the times and places where I will address you. There is nothing wanting but one vigorous united effort, and in three years (perhaps less) we shall have the whole road completed to Kansas, or wherever we may wish to terminate. I believe your county can be induced to subscribe $100,000 of stock to the road. There is no longer any question of location; that is settled. Many who were for Boonville will now, I doubt not, go for subscribing in their corporate capacity, in order that they may have the advantages of the road.

The limits of a letter will not allow me room to present all I wish. You have your candidates out; it will be worse than suicidal for the friends of the road to vote for anyone, Whig or Democrat, who will refuse legislative aid to the road. It may be, one single vote may defeat us in the legislature; then how important it is that we should look well to the feelings, opinions, and capacity of those we bring forward to represent us! We want the best men, and it matters not whether they are Whigs or Democrats, so they are right upon this subject.

There can be no objection to a vote at your next election whether your county shall take stock in the road or not. Catechize your candidates upon this subject, and if both are not for it, and also for legislative aid, run those who will go for it. I intend to visit your county and discuss the question. If your candidates are right, the task will be an easy one; if they are against it, no effort of mine or anyone else can change or induce your county to take stock.

If we move forward as we should, all is safe; the road can easily be made. If divisions exist, and refusals of friends to aid us, all I fear is lost. I am,

Very truly, your friend,

G. R. SMITH.

Col. A. K. Longan, and others.

From a previous letter it is evident that General Smith's opposition to Benton had largely disappeared. It is probable that the staunchness with which the latter was upholding the cause of the Union against Southern aggression and disunionist tendencies, was one of the reasons for this change of attitude; but other and perhaps more potent considerations are revealed in the letter given below. It is from John D. Stevenson, of Union, Mo., dated June 5, 1853, and reads in part as follows:

> The conclusion of your letter leads me to infer that the devotion of Old Bullion to Missouri's true interests is not unnoted by you. There is no doubt of one fact, that every man in the State of Missouri who desires at heart that the great national highway shall traverse Missouri's soil, involuntarily turns to Benton, and in him they recognize the most able champion of that great work. The return of Benton to the Senate of the United States has now become a State necessity, a question of vastly more importance than any of the political issues presented by himself or enemies; and must be the controlling question in our next State elections, for the reason that the prosperity of Missouri in every point of view is dependent upon the accomplishment of this work. Incidentally Benton's return will be considered a party triumph; and rightly it should be so, because the anomalous position of his opponents,—opposing to a man the central route, which is the hope of Missouri, thus antagonistical to her most vital interests,—would, it seems to me, force every man in the State who can look at the true interests of the State to desire the overthrow of such a party as is organized against Benton.
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> These anti-Benton men,—and with us they are to a man in favor of a southern route,—look to their success as another spoke in the secession and disunion wheel, and oppose the central route because they know it will more closely cement the bonds that

> bind this Union together. It seems to me, then, that it is a solemn duty, to be discharged by every man who has for one instant looked at the true interests of the State, and in whose heart there is one pulsation of devotion to this Union, to be found at work for the central highway, for Missouri's true policy, for Benton,—all of which, in my estimation, are synonymous.

In spite of this exhortation, General Smith supported the Whig candidate, against both Benton and Atchison, on every ballot in which he participated.[1] Forty-one ballots were cast before adjourning the first session of the Eighteenth General Assembly; on the last the vote stood much as it had on the first, namely—for Atchison 58, for Benton 38, for Doniphan 56.

The apparent inability of the Whigs to elect Doniphan, led some of them to consider the substitution of some person who might win enough votes to procure an election. Such a suggestion was made to the Pettis county representatives in a letter from John C. McCoy, one of their constituents, under date of January 17, 1855:

> I like the course the Whigs have taken thus far [he writes], but I believe that some other name would, at this time, gain some votes. I have been traveling through several counties since the first of December. I have heard the subject discussed numerous ways, and within the two last days, I have

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[1] He was absent from Friday, January 26, 1855, to Wednesday the 31st, during which time the twenty-seventh to the thirty-seventh ballots, inclusive, were taken.

seen several Democrats on their way home from Jefferson; and I hear but one opinion from them, and that is, that J. S. Rollins of Boone, or J. G. Miller of Cooper, would receive enough Benton votes to elect; and if so, I can not see why Rollins is not as acceptable to the Whigs as Doniphan. I have seen him carry the Whig flag as independently, and do as good battle for the cause,—yes, and once when Doniphan refused to carry it; and so of Mr. Miller. I think a Whig who doubts the Whiggery of either of them is himself tainted with some foreignism, and has affinities for abstractions. All the Whigs I have conversed with on the subject have a little more confidence in Rollins or Miller than in Doniphan; and think that the party owes more to Mr. Rollins than to any Whig in the State; and believe him as true a Whig,—yes, just a little better,—and as competent. And I think the idea of getting reliable support from the Anti's is all moonshine. They made great pretensions when you were a candidate,—had great desires to promote your election,—but the poll-book tells a different story. And so in all their contests. They have but one idea; that is, get office, get power, promote self. I heard our Sheriff Burns say to-day that from what he could learn Rollins could be elected, as he thought the Bentons would vote for Rollins enough to elect him. He left Jefferson City Tuesday, and he feels sure that such is the fact. I will only add, I am a Whig and will always vote for a Whig when possible. I hate Loco Focos, and snakes with angular flat heads. I always viewed them as being more dangerous when alive than dead.

General Smith's mind had probably already turned toward John G. Miller, at that time the Whig representative in Congress for the Pettis county district.

Toward the end of January he addressed a letter to him at Washington City, to which the following reply, dated February 8, was received:

> I feel very much gratified to know that your kind feelings and generous confidence have suggested my name to you for the United States Senate. I have watched with deep interest the progress of your joint sessions, was gratified to see the union which prevailed, at first, among our friends, and pained to know at last defection should show itself. I do not believe from the indications that you will make an election at your present sitting. Should you adjourn until autumn, something may then be effected. I do not believe the Democracy can harmonize, and my conviction has been for some time that we should have a Whig or no Senator in Atchison's place.

Mr. Miller's forecast of the outcome of the senatorial struggle proved correct. Owing perhaps to the "protracted illness" from which he was then suffering, and which within a few months ended his life, his own name was not seriously considered. After the forty-first ballot, taken on February 1, no further ballots were taken at this session; and on March 5, 1855, the General Assembly adjourned, to meet again the first Wednesday in November, without having chosen a Senator. When the legislature reassembled, the struggle began anew, with few new features. General Smith wrote from Jefferson City (November 27) to his wife: "It is said there is a trade going on with the Anti's and Doniphan by which they intend to elect two Senators instead of one; whether it is true or false, I of course do not know." If such a measure was in contemplation it failed, as did all other attempts to break the deadlock; and when the legislature finally adjourned, December 13, 1855, no joint session had been held and no election had taken place.

We turn now to the consideration of a matter which, in the view of General Smith, was more important than any purely political question,—the aiding of the nascent railroad system of the State.

Judge Fagg well says, in speaking of General Smith's labors for the Pacific railroad, that it was "the pet scheme of his life, and the one upon which he lavished all the wealth of his time, talents, and most devoted attachment." The zeal, ability, and success with which he had carried through the campaign for the location of the road on the inland route, led the Directors, in January, 1854, to appoint him their agent to collect the subscriptions west of Jefferson City. This work he pursued with energy and success, until relieved by the appointment of other agents, June 13, 1855. He made a canvass of the counties concerned, speaking at a number of places and explaining the need of responding readily to the calls issued by the Company against the subscriptions. "Rumors," he wrote in a letter to the Lexington *Express,* "are rife through the country of repudiation and refusal to pay"; these he set himself to counteract. In a subsequent letter to this newspaper (February 20, 1854) he gives an encouraging report of his progress; up to that time he knew of "but one man who refuses to pay his call," and this he understood "arises from a misconception on his part of the object of the call." His collections far surpassed his expectations. Soon after this the Treasurer of the Company wrote that he was "gratified to hear" that he had met with such success, and hoped that it would "continue to the end." This hope was not wholly fulfilled; but the task of the Company was certainly made easier by General Smith's labors. From this time on he was gradually taken more and more into consultation by the officers of the road. On May 12, 1854, the Secretary wrote informing him that contracts for the construction of the third and fourth divisions were to be let, and soliciting him to be present at the meeting of the Board to consider them. Soon after he was formally made a member of the Board of Directors, a position which he held for several years.

The needs of the roads, and the plans devised for meeting them, are indicated in the following extract from a report to the General Assembly presented by a joint committee on internal improvements, of which General Smith was a member:

> The joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives on internal improvements have had under consideration several measures proposed for aiding the completion of the railroads of the State. It was evident that the railroads had not progressed as rapidly as had been expected, and that some means must be devised to help them. It did not seem

prudent for the State to assume the construction of the roads, or to advance to individuals the large amount necessary. The whole capital needed not being available in the State, a great portion must be borrowed from the accumulation of foreign wealth. A little examination showed the committee that the source of difficulty was in the lien held by the State on the different roads, and thus necessarily retarded the negotiation of loans abroad. The committee believe that the principle on which State aid was originally given to the railroads was correct, viz: one dollar from the State (to a fixed amount) for every dollar from private sources, and that the State should have priority of claim. But the committee also believe, that this priority of lien of the State should be on the private stock, and not on the road itself, and that the road itself, so fast as built, should be used as a credit on which to borrow money from abroad, for their construction and completion.

A bill was therefore proposed in which the leading ideas were as follows: no increase of State credit to roads to which aid had been extended, except to equalize the Iron Mountain railroad; authority given to the companies to make first mortgage on the road for money borrowed, to be only applicable to the construction of the particular road; for every dollar of bonds from the State, a dollar to be paid in from stock, without lien on road; deposit with the Governor of guaranteed or preferred stock, to insure prompt payment of interest; State to have two Directors; Board of Public Works, having no control over management of the works, but with power to examine into the construction and management, and in case not satisfied, they, with the Governor, may stop issue of more bonds, and may, through the Supreme Court, enjoin all bonds; the private stock (equal in amount to the State aid) not to get profits, interest, or dividend, from any means of the companies, whether directly or indirectly, until all liabilities have been provided for, including State aid, sinking fund, etc.

In the campaign to secure a release of the State lien, General Smith took an active part; and at the request of the publisher, Mr. William J. Mayo, he wrote a series of articles for the Osceola paper. But the subject was one which afforded aspiring politicians too excellent an opportunity "to play the demagogue as the peculiar protectors of the people from increased taxation, which they contend would be the necessary result of the release of the State lien" (letter of William J. Mayo, May 30, 1855; and the movement was foredoomed to failure. In a letter dated September 19, 1855, Mr. A. S. Mitchell, of the St. Louis *Intelligencer,* sets forth the situation as follows:

> Yours of the thirteenth is received, containing your earnest protest against the remarks of the *Intelligencer* of the eighth inst. in regard to the release of lien. I sympathize in your surprise and regret at the tone of the article complained of, but I assure you the lines were written with a perfect conviction that the release of lien is impossible. But the roads will not therefore fail. They will go forward rapidly. I am satisfied that the release would not be politic, and that better measures will be adopted to complete our system of roads.
>
> Two of the St. Louis county Senators have declared against the release. So has Brown of the House (of the *Democrat*), and you may set down

the Benton Representatives of this county the same way. Parks, of St. Charles, is here, and against the release. Carson has been instructed against it. Twenty papers in the State have avowed opposition, —two in St. Louis, the *Democrat* and the *Mirror;* the *Republican* doggedly neutral. The lien is lost, and it was before we admitted the fact in the *Intelligencer*. But the roads will not stop, be assured.

By the year 1855, the State had voted the issue of bonds in aid of the railroads to the amount of $9,000,000, of which amount $3,000,000 were for the Pacific road. The progress of construction on the roads up to the close of that year, is thus summarized: "The Pacific railroad had almost reached Jefferson City, and had consumed the entire amount of State aid and almost all the city and county aid received. The North Missouri Railroad Company had completed the first division of its line, extending from St. Louis to St. Charles, and had commenced a second division, extending from St. Charles to a junction with the Hannibal and St. Joseph; and had drawn $600,000 of the State grant. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Company had something over one hundred miles in process of construction, but no part completed; it had drawn $580,000 of the State bonds granted. The St. Louis and Iron Mountain Company, although it had a 'considerable portion' of its road under construction, had completed no part of it; of the State grant, $400,000 had been received. Taking into consideration the length of time that had elapsed since the beginning of the work of construction, it is thus seen that very little had been accomplished. Only one road, the Pacific, had really made progress at a rate that could be called desirable, and this road had cost twice as much as had been estimated at the beginning of the enterprise. And . . . the cost of the work on all the other roads aided, so far as the companies had proceeded with the construction, had already demonstrated that each of them would cost from 30 to 100 per cent. more than was originally estimated."[1]

Further grants of State aid to the roads seemed imperatively necessary, but conflicting interests jeopardized the success of the attempts to secure them. The Southwest Branch especially threatened to make trouble for the advocates of the main line of the Pacific railroad. The matter came to a head February 28, 1855, on a motion to amend a bill to aid the construction of the Pacific road. In resisting this attempt General Smith,—overcoming what he confesses to be his "established habit and well-known disposition to avoid debates," and despite the fact that he had already, the day before, indulged in "protracted remarks" on the subject,—made a speech of much length and force:

> They [the friends of the Southwest Branch] are loud and long in what they think is a want of good faith; and to test that good faith, they come up and offer an amendment to this bill of ours in which we ask $300,000 more State credit to be applied

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[1] Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, pp. 89-90.

west of Jefferson City, when we have $850,000 of stock subscribed, $300,000 of which, as I stated distinctly on yesterday, is with conditions such as prevent us from using it, but which will be worth to the Company the amount. We state the reason of this request, and it is this: If the State will loan us $300,000 it gives us double the amount of money we now have to expend upon the road, and it enables us to continue the hands we now have on the road, numbering about 400. It will enable us to push on, slowly to be sure, but it enables us to go on with the work; and we only ask one dollar in State credit for three dollars in private stock subscribed, and a large amount actually paid in. And a proposition so equitable and just the gentleman ryders with an amendment (to test the good faith and sincerity of the Company) modestly asking that the legislature shall give to the Southwest one million of State credit, reversing our proposition. We have three dollars in stock subscribed to one we ask credit for, and they very modestly ask three dollars of State credit to one they have subscribed; and announce to us that this is the ultimatum, and if the friends of the Pacific road refuse this, they will defeat this meritorious proposition. And this, they tell us, will test our good faith to the Southwest. . .

Sir, I am willing to do, as gentlemen can bear testimony, more than any disinterested man will say I ought. But, sir, there is a point beyond which I will not go, though the road fail. That point is reached. . .

The gentleman doubts much the Pacific Railroad Company, and he thinks if they cared anything about the interest of the Southwest, they would have subscribed $150,000, the amount they lack to make up the $500,000 in order that they can have an equal amount of State credit.

Sir, I tell the gentleman that if he will go home and use some of the zeal there to procure subscriptions that he does here to defeat the subscribers west of Jefferson, we would not hear their denunciations against the Company. Sir, what has he done? I know where he lives and I know something of his property, and I know gentlemen who have not one-tenth of his means, living as far from the road as he does, who have taken from one thousand to twenty-five hundred dollars stock in this road; and counties situated further from the road than his county (Polk) that have taken $50,000, whilst his has only taken $20,000. And the little county I have the honor to represent takes $170,000, whilst Greene county, which pays three times the revenue of Pettis, and has more than three times her wealth, takes the pitiful sum of $100,000. And now they have not the sum necessary to secure the advantages the law gave them; and now that they have not raised funds enough to secure the contract, they ask to tack on to our bill a proposition, such as has never been made; and we are asked to legislate one million to gentlemen who have failed to help themselves; and we are told and threatened that if we refuse they will defeat this bill.

I have confidence in the good sense of this House. I have found wherever I have been a disposition in man to aid to the utmost those who have made efforts to help themselves. I appeal to gentlemen from all quarters to come up and help us, if those who ought to be our friends have turned our enemies.

The opposition to the amendment was successful, and the bill was passed in form acceptable to the Pacific road, but failed to receive the Governor's assent.

When the legislature reassembled after the summer recess, the whole question of additional aid to the roads was reopened; and means were now found to reconcile all claims in a single bill, appropriating the credit of the State to the amount of $10,000,000 to the various railroads, of which amount the Pacific road was to receive $3,000,000.

> Much has been said and written [writes Judge Fagg in this connection] against omnibus legislation. Men have been greatly censured for their art in combining different interests and opposing elements in order to secure the success of a measure which could not stand by its own strength. Much was said during the session of that legislature against the combination of a large number of projected railroads in the State in order to secure the building of one or two lines of acknowledged public necessity. But the fact is, if it was right for the State in its corporate capacity to lend aid and assistance to the business of building railroads at all, not a dollar should have been voted without looking to a general system that sooner or later would furnish every section of the commonwealth with railroad facilities. General Smith was honest in his convictions that the basis for such a system was a line starting from the city of St. Louis, the great commercial center of the Mississippi valley, and extending westward toward the Pacific coast. Such a line was in no sense antagonistic to any other proposed line of road in the State. But then there was the Southwest, the Southeast, the Northeast and the Northwest, all entitled to a share in the State's bounty, and all anxious to reach the same common center. The work was really a unit, and no one project could be favored to the exclusion of the others.

There was only one road that could be said to be in any sense antagonistic to the others, and that was the Hannibal and St. Joe. However, properly speaking, there was no antagonism between that and the other lines, as it would give the most rapid development to the Northwest that could have been obtained, and so that was also taken into the system.

The prospects of the bill at first were far from flattering. Only two of General Smith's letters to his family, during the time of his legislative service, are extant. Both of these deal with the prospects of the bill; and from one we learn the following details:

> When I reached here [he writes to his wife, November 27, 1855] a bill was before the Senate for our railroads. The friends of the measure had their hands full to electioneer with those who were looked upon as doubtful. The bill, if it becomes a law, will build our road to Georgetown in two years. Last evening it passed the Senate, where it originated. This morning it was reported to our House. Its passage here I do not regard as certain. The prospects are, however, favorable; but it is said the Governor will veto it. If so, it will be very difficult to pass it over his head. There is one thing certain; if we fail to pass some relief for our road, the whole subject of railroad building is at an end, for some years at least. We will take up the bill to-morrow.

In the quiet work of influencing members who were adverse to the bill, General Smith was at his best. His early connection with the Pacific road, his membership in its Directory, his earnest zeal for the material betterment of Missouri, and his native eloquence, all served to make him a leader. A graphic account of the situation, and of General Smith's services at this critical juncture, is given by Judge Fagg, who was himself a member of this legislature:

> It would be difficult to say who was the chief leader in the work done by that legislature towards the building of railroads in Missouri. I could not for the life of me tell who rendered the greatest amount of aid or the most efficient labor in the work of constructing the system or in arranging the details of the legislation which was finally agreed upon by the railroad men at that session. But one thing I can truthfully say: no man was more devoted,—more constant,—more untiring in his labors and withal more hopeful of success than George R. Smith. He worked whilst other men slept. He had courage when others faltered. He had undoubting faith and confidence when others despaired of success; and when the triumph finally came there was no heart in Jefferson City so completely filled with proud satisfaction and joy as his.
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> General Sterling Price, the then Governor of the State, was known to be opposed to what was denounced as a wild and visionary system of public improvements to which the State was asked to loan its credit; and the great fear was that, if a majority of the two houses could be induced to pass the bill, still it would be vetoed, and the required number could not be obtained to put it through notwithstanding the objections of the Governor. The veto was the one thing most dreaded of all others. Noses had been carefully counted in both houses, and it seemed to be reasonably certain that when the final

vote came there would be a small majority in favor of granting State aid. But when the Governor, with the assistance of the best legal talent that he could command, should come to put his objections upon paper and gravely state his constitutional doubts and scruples, and especially to arraign the members before their constituents for the wild and extravagant expenditure of public money without any sufficient security for its return; they knew that many knees would tremble, many a heart would grow faint, and that many a voice that had timidly and hesitatingly responded "Aye" upon the passage of the bill would, when the final question should be put, answer "No."

The situation was a grave one. Various influences were brought to bear upon the Governor to induce him to change his views. It seemed, however, that after everything had been tried he was fixed and immovable in his purpose not to put his signature to the bill. A banquet was finally arranged for at the City Hotel to which the Governor and every member of the legislature were invited, except those who were believed to be unalterably opposed to the bill. Some of the ablest men of each house were selected beforehand to present the claims of the bill and to furnish the facts and figures upon which, together with the argument of the constitutional questions involved, the doubting Thomases could go back to their constituents and justify a vote in favor of the law. There were many interesting and able speeches made during the evening; many that seemed to cover every point and to present the entire subject in the clearest manner possible. And yet when General Smith spoke I was satisfied that no clearer or more forcible argument was made during the whole evening. It was not an occasion for oratorical display. There were no studied phrases and no rhetorical figures of speech; but the power and duty of the State to aid its people in developing the agricultural and mineral resources, which were so abundant and accessible, were presented by him in a way that was almost irresistible. I am sorry that that speech has not been preserved. It would furnish a most accurate and life-like picture of the man, and give a better idea of his work in the legislature, than could ever be given by others.

Governor Robert M. Stewart, under date of September 16, 1859, wrote, at General Smith's request, the following statement concerning the course of the latter in this legislature: "As I offered the bill which passed at the session, known as the Omnibus bill, and was the chairman of the joint committee which recommended its passage (of which committee you were a member), I could not well be ignorant of the course pursued by the members of that committee, who were earnest and prominent in their efforts in behalf of or in opposition to the proposed legislation,—calculated, in my opinion, to foster and aid the paramount interests of and indispensable to preserve the honor and credit of the State. In response to your request, therefore, I am glad to be able to state that I well remember your course as having been characterized by a warm and consistent friendship for the railroad enterprises of the State, and a zealous and efficient advocate of the policy of granting State aid to our great trunk roads. You were the firm friend of the (so-called) Omnibus bill; and so far as I have observed, you have ever advocated a liberal and enlightened policy in regard to our internal improvement interests."

The situation before the decision of Governor Price was made known is depicted in the following note from General Smith:

Jefferson City, December 10th, 1855.

My Dear Wife:

We are still in doubt and fear for our bill. We have heard nothing from the Governor. It is supposed he will send in his veto to-morrow. My opinion is, he will not veto our bill. I think there is no doubt but we can pass it over his head. This may make him approve the bill. Never, perhaps, before were there such efforts made to carry a measure as we are making for this. I think there is but little doubt but that we will pass the bill.

Kiss the children; will be at home about Thursday, if I can get off. Affectionately,

G. R. Smith.

As to the Governor's decision General Smith's guess proved incorrect, but his confidence in the ultimate passage of the bill was well founded. The account of this action may be given in the words of Judge Fagg:

The veto came at last and with it the most intense excitement that was ever witnessed in the hall of Representatives. The message was read and listened to in the most profound silence on the part of the members. When the ballot was taken and the Speaker announced the passage of the bill,[1] there was the wildest scene that I have ever witnessed in any assembly of men. Members ran across the hall and clasped each other in their arms, and laughed and shouted until they were hoarse. General Smith's chair seemed to be the center of hilarity, handshakings, and congratulations. At the suggestion of Major James S. Rollins, I attempted a pencil sketch of the General as he lay back in his chair, his feet extended upon the desk before him and his whole frame convulsed with laughter. The picture had no merits except as a part of the ludicrous scene presented by the entire body. George C. Bingham, the Missouri artist, was present and after giving it some finishing touches wrote underneath, "The passage of the railroad bill." He was kind enough to say in my hearing that there were some evidences of neglected genius about it.

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[1] December 10; the vote on reconsideration stood, in the Senate, 20 to 11; in the House, 67 to 49.

"I well remember my father coming home after the session," says Mrs. M. E. Smith, in speaking of these events, "bringing with him two of the members, B. Gratz Brown and A. J. Blakey, to spend the Christmas holidays. They were flushed with victory, and right royally did they recount around our fireside the ways and means that led to its achievement. My sister and I were young ladies, and like the girls of the period little accustomed to mingle in politics; and whilst in the result we were sympathetic and exultant, I can not now give the details which they day by day related at the table and fireside. Our mother, dear blessed saint, took it all in; and that our parents endorsed it was enough for us to feel that it was all right."

The rejoicing was somewhat premature, as it proved, for the constitutionality of the grant was questioned by the Governor and Attorney-General, and had yet to stand the test of the Supreme Court of the State. Information of this new development was conveyed to General Smith in a letter from B. Gratz Brown, written on his return to Jefferson City, and dated January 1, 1856:

> I write in accordance with my promise to you immediately upon my arrival in this city. It is with deep regret that I have to inform you that I have within the last half-hour had a conversation with Mr. Gardenhire the Attorney-General, who informs me that the Governor has called upon him for his opinion, which he is now writing out. That opinion is to the effect that the manner of the passage of the Omnibus bill was entirely unconstitutional, and he therefore recommends the Governor not to issue the bonds. Under these circumstances the Governor will no doubt refuse to issue them, and we may all prepare for a contest before the Supreme Court.
>
> My very best regards to Mrs. Smith, and also to Miss Bettie and Miss Sed. We had quite a pleasant trip down, and met with neither action nor detention.

Fortunately the decision of the Supreme Court was not long deferred. Under date of January 31, 1856, Thomas L. Price wrote to General Smith from the capital:

> The country is again safe! The Court is unanimous that the railroad law is constitutional. Your town ought to celebrate the occasion. Call a meet-

ing; pass strong resolutions; say what you please about captious opposition, etc., etc., by the Governor; and send to Lusk for publication. Do not fail.

Under the same date, James Lusk himself wrote from Jefferson City:

I have just returned about one hour from the Capitol. The decision of the Supreme Court was given this morning in favor of the constitutionality of the law,—Judge Ryland concurring, Judge Leonard dissenting as to the jurisdiction of the Court, but agreeing in the constitutionality of the law.

This is a glorious day for Missouri.

CHAPTER IX

SLAVERY AND THE KANSAS TROUBLES

(1854—1855)

The Kansas-Nebraska bill—Rival colonizations of the Territory—Senator Atchison and Governor Price on the situation—Missouri interference in Kansas elections—General Smith defines his position—Reception of his letter—Rise of civil war in Kansas—Missouri sentiment—General Smith urged to use his influence to restore order—Effects of Kansas troubles upon his interests—The Spencer incident.

The attack upon General Smith's position as Representative of the people of Pettis county, mentioned in the preceding chapter, was due mainly to dissatisfaction with his attitude on the Kansas troubles, and a feeling that he was "unsound" on the question of slavery. The Kansas-Nebraska bill received President Pierce's signature and became law May 30, 1854. "It is safe to say," writes a recent historian of this period, "that, in the scope and consequences of the . . . act, it was the most momentous measure that passed Congress from the day that the Senators and Representatives first met, to the outbreak of the Civil War. It sealed the doom of the Whig party; it caused the formation of the

GEORGE R. SMITH
Aged Fifty-One

Republican party on the principle of no extension of slavery; it roused Lincoln and gave a bent to his great political ambition. It made the Fugitive Slave law a dead letter at the North; it caused the Germans to become Republicans; it lost the Democrats their hold on New England; it made the Northwest Republican; it led to the downfall of the Democratic party."[1]

By its provisions, the Missouri Compromise was in express terms repealed; and the principle of "popular sovereignty," as it was styled by Douglas, the author of the bill, was declared to be the policy of Congress on the question of slavery in the Nebraska country. At once rival streams of immigration began to pour in, and rival settlements were formed. The people of Western Missouri were strongly pro-slavery, and determined that Kansas should be a slave State; while the people of New England, stirred up by the Emigrant Aid Company, were equally determined that it should be free. At first the immigration on both sides was *bona fide,* and peaceful; it was not until later, when force was needed to meet force, that Sharpe rifles were furnished the free-State men by their friends, and howitzers became a part of the equipment of free-State settlements. In October, 1854, began the formation in Missouri of numerous secret societies called "Blue Lodges," whose object was, legally or illegally, to secure the extension of slavery into

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[1] Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, I, p. 490.

Kansas.[1] These at once put a different face on the struggle. The position assumed by the slaveholders of Missouri, thenceforth, is revealed in a speech delivered by Senator D. R. Atchison at a meeting in Platte City.

> General Atchison [reports the Platte *Argus* of November 6, 1854] said his mission here was if possible to awaken the people of this county to the danger ahead, and to suggest the means to avoid it. The people of Kansas in their first elections would decide the question whether or not the slaveholder was to be excluded; and it depended upon a majority of the votes cast at the polls. Now, if a set of fanatics and demagogues a thousand miles off could afford to advance their money and exert every nerve to abolitionize the Territory and exclude the slaveholders, when they have not the least personal interest, what is your duty, when you reside in one day's journey of the Territory, and when your peace, your quiet, and your property depends upon your action? You can without exertion send five hundred of your young men, who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably at the ballot box. If

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[1] The circumstances of General Smith's refusal to join such a lodge have been preserved. He was spending the evening with a personal and political friend, in a neighboring town, when he was informed there was a secret organization that met that evening in the Court House. He was asked to join it, as it was for the protection of all, and he was told he would be greatly pleased with it. He accompanied his friend to the place, and found the society to consist of some forty members. A Bible was produced, and it was proposed to swear him to do all in his power to make Kansas a slave State. This he at once declined; and when they attempted to argue with him, he only replied: "I am not a fit subject for your organization, and by your leave I will retire."

> we are defeated, then Missouri and the other Southern States will have shown themselves recreant to their interests, and will deserve their fate.[1]

The perverted view of the anti-slavery agitation which is contained in this speech, is more clearly revealed in the message which Governor Price sent to the General Assembly, December 27, 1854:

> It is with pain and solicitude [he said, towards the close of that document] that I announce to you, that our relations to our sister States, and to the Union, are not such as to give us assurance that the Constitution will be held sacred, and the Union perpetuated. More than thirty years ago, emissaries were dispatched into the Northern States and very recently into the Southern States, by the enemies of constitutional liberty in Europe, furnished with means to propagate slander and falsehood, and excite the meanest and most degraded prejudices of the human heart. These agents have performed the task allotted to them with unceasing vigilance and determined perseverance. A brief space of time only had elapsed, before they succeeded in rallying around them a party of desperate and unprincipled men who, assuming the office of missionaries, have continued to preach a crusade against the institution of slavery. Emboldened by their success in misleading the ignorant and unwary, and exciting a morbid and fanatical religious sentiment, they have not hesitated recently to avow themselves open enemies of the Constitution and the Union. Such is the origin, such the character and the purpose of the Abolition party.
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> The success of this treasonable design rendered

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[1] Switzler, *History of Missouri*, p. 492.

it an object with desperate and corrupt politicians in the Northern States to obtain the votes of the abolitionists. For this purpose, a new party was organized, under the specious name of the Free-soil party. Professing, in their public proceedings, adhesion to the Constitution, and yet constantly advocating unconstitutional schemes to further the designs of their abolition allies, they have acquired the confidence of that traitorous faction, whilst they have seduced into their toils large numbers of good men, who do not comprehend the inevitable consequences of the policy they advocate.

This combination of heterogenous elements seems to have an elective affinity for all the ephemeral factions that are engendered by local conflicts or temporary causes. There is an instinctive propensity that when these petty combinations are disbanded by the progress of events, their constituent elements must unite with the anti-slavery party. Their policy has been cautious and plausible. They affect to admit that Congress has no power to interfere with slavery in the States; and yet if that is not the ultimate object, their whole system of operations is absurd. The chief ends aimed at hitherto, have been the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, and where they have failed in this, the exclusion of slave States from the Union, and the abrogation of the clause in the Constitution providing for the reclamation of fugitive slaves.

They know well that success in these objects would give them a preponderance in our national councils, and enable them to violate the Constitution still more grossly, in reference to the institution of slavery in the States.

This message, with its distorted version of the origin and objects of the anti-slavery agitation, was printed by order of the House of Representatives in both English and German, and twelve thousand copies were distributed throughout the State. The results of such utterances as those of Senator Atchison and Governor Price, in conjunction with the formation of the Blue Lodges, were speedily apparent in a heightening of pro-slavery ardor and in more vigorous measures with respect to Kansas. In the election held November 29, 1854, for a territorial delegate, 1,729 Missourians are credibly stated, in the report of the congressional investigating committee, to have come over into Kansas to swell the pro-slavery vote. And in the election (March 30, 1855) of a territorial legislature, a regularly organized army of some five thousand armed men, are reported by the Democratic Governor of the Territory to have come over from Missouri, taken possession of the ballot boxes, and made a legislature to suit their wishes.

The political attack upon General Smith had its connection with these events. In the same article in which he was stated to hold his seat "by accident rather than by the choice of the people," this charge was made:

> A Kansas meeting, or a meeting of the citizens of that county intending to emigrate to Kansas Territory, was called some weeks since at the court house, in Georgetown, where General Smith, as we understand, took occasion to denounce the action of the meeting, and used language altogether objectionable to his constituents; and it is understood that

petitions are now circulating in that county, praying him to resign his seat in the legislature.

General Smith's reply to this charge was as follows:

Your informant certainly could not have told you what I did say in that Kansas meeting, for, sir, had he done so, I doubt not but that you would endorse what I did say; and here I state that it is my deliberate opinion that I am sustained by a very large majority of the people of this county. On the day on which the Kansas meeting came off, I was met by several warm personal friends, and urged not to go into the meeting, stating that I would be called upon to define my position, and unless I went the whole length, that I would be crushed under this perfect avalanche of public feeling; and as they know that my opinions did not harmonize with some of the getters-up of that meeting, they thought it was best for me to stay away. This I preferred not to do. I went to the court house and found the meeting organized. After the object of the meeting was explained, it was stated by one of the speakers that he saw the Representative of the county in the house, and he desired to hear from him his views upon this subject. I then addressed the meeting, and Mr. Editor, here is about what I did say. I stated that I had been born in a slave State; that I was born the owner of slaves, and had always owned them. That the larger portion of my property consisted in slaves, and that I presumed it was not necessary for me to make long and loud professions of my loyalty to the institutions of the South. That I desired to see Kansas a slave State; that if it should not be, we would have non-slaveholding States upon three sides of us, and that slave property would be almost valueless in Missouri; the ease with which our slaves could go to Kansas, the protection they would receive from the abolitionists, made me desire as much as any one in that meeting that Kansas should be a slave State. That this consideration, however important to me as I regarded it in a pecuniary point of view, was nothing in comparison to obligations under which I was then placed; I was then and am now under an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of Missouri, and demean myself faithfully in office. If the object of that meeting was to induce settlers to move into Kansas, as we have emigrated to Missouri, *bona fide* settlers, then I am as warmly in favor of the movement as any gentleman here, and will aid as liberally as any one to induce such to go to Kansas.

But if the object is to induce persons to go to Kansas merely to vote, and who never intend to become citizens of that Territory, and who are citizens of Pettis and intend to remain such,—and such I understood to be the position of the gentleman, sir, who had explained the object of the meeting,—then, sir, I am opposed to this movement, and my advice to every one who hears me is to stay at home and attend to his own business, and not add to that too highly excited sectional feeling already, by interfering in the internal regulations of a community in which he never intends to live. Important as I considered it to my own interests in slaves that Kansas should be a slave State, I would not violate the laws of my country to make it so, nor would I advise others to do so; that if I were to do so, I should at least regard myself as having violated my solemn oath to support the Constitution and laws of my country, however others might regard it. I preferred the approbation of my own conscience to that of any earthly tribunal, and I here declare my determination to oppose any infraction of the laws of my country, either by persons residing in slave or non-slaveholding States. I commented upon the violent denunciations we had that day heard against the North. I endeavored to show the deep prejudice we must implant in the hearts of the youth who must soon take our places, by the violent denunciation we had that day heard; and I asked then, and now, how long can this glorious Union be preserved if we teach our children and neighbors such lessons? I avowed my purpose to be to save my country from dissolution, which must inevitably follow unless far more temperate counsels prevailed than had been given on that day. In conclusion I read the dying warning of the father of his country; and as it comes from one whom all have been taught to reverence, I will copy what he says, that those who perhaps may have forgotten what he says may read the rich legacy he has left us. Here it is:

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western, whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence with particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these representations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

I endeavored to impress upon those who heard me the importance of heeding the dying injunction of Gen. George Washington. For myself, I stated, I would follow blindly where he led, and so long as I lived I was the sworn enemy of all who dared, with ruthless hand, to efface from the hearts of my countrymen his dying admonitions.

And now, Mr. Editor, after calmly reviewing my course upon the occasion that brought your condemnation, I reindorse every word and sentence then uttered, and I solemnly swear upon the altar of my country, under the broad stripes and bright stars of that flag, baptized in the blood of the martyrs of the Revolution, to discountenance, whenever, wherever, and by whomsoever made, any and every attempt to alienate one portion of this Union from the other. One word more, sir, and I shall have done. I have already said that I believed a large majority of the county sustained me in my course. I have heard that one or two gentlemen talked of getting up a petition to me to resign. I have stated that I will cheerfully do so whenever requested by a majority of my constituents. I do not believe that fifty persons can be found to sign such a petition; I shall, however, as cheerfully retire as any one of whom you ever heard, whenever a majority of my constituents will signify their wish for me to do so.

There is a ring of sincerity here which makes it impossible to doubt that it represents General Smith's exact convictions at the time. The influences, referred to in an earlier chapter, which had been brought to bear upon him as a lad in Kentucky, had fixed in him an opposition to slavery in the abstract, which change of environment, growth of pecuniary interest in the institution, political ambition, and the development of the Southern view that slavery was "a good in itself for both races," had not been able to eradicate. Had he been a Northern man, surrounded by Northern influences, he would undoubtedly have become a Free-soiler or an Abolitionist; had it not been for the influences to which he had been exposed in the formative period of his life, he might have held the ordinary Southern view. As it was, he was forced to take an intermediate position, which though to some extent difficult for a Northern man was in the highest degree honorable for one whose every interest,—pecuniary, social, and political,—demanded a more Southern opinion. None but a zealot or a fanatic could, in General Smith's position and with his antecedents, have come out in 1855 and advocated the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. What he did *not* hold at this time, as well as what he did, are alike marks of the soundness of his political and moral character.

The views expressed in this public letter were repeated in many private utterances, and met with varying responses from his friends and correspondents. His old political associate and colleague in the legislature, J. Locke Hardeman of Saline county, thus met them, in a letter of June 10, 1855:

> Your letter dated 31st May is to hand, and accompanied by a number of the Jefferson City *Enquirer* containing your letter to the editor of the *Southwest Democrat.* I had seen it before in the Boonville *Observer* and Lexington *Express,* as published by your request.

Having set yourself right before the public in the communication referred to, I presume that you desire my individual opinion on the Kansas question and the duty of the citizens of Missouri. Unhappily you and I differ very widely in the latter case.

When Missourians have seen her citizens robbed of their property, and themselves insulted and imprisoned for merely appealing to the laws of the land that professed to guarantee the rights of property;—when they have seen the officers of the law shot down while in the discharge of their duty;—have seen the legislative assembly "address" a faith-sworn magistrate out of office because he would not violate his oath of office;—legislative charters to Aid Societies whose avowed object was to colonize our frontier with those whose only object was to enact the same scenes of robbery and murder in our midst;—what should Missourians do? Shall they hear first the cries of murdered citizens; the public declaration of war upon our legal rights; see the marshalling of the forces; witness their march through our very midst who are neutral territory because of the law,—yet *they* not respecting the rights of these neutrals, but aid in speeding away our slaves;—finally, see them take up a commanding position, fortify it, unfurl their banner, and "let slip the dogs of war?" Shall we like babes cry for kindness, sympathy, and protection of the devouring tiger that knows no mercy, as we who have appealed to violated laws before those who know no legal restraints? Or shall we, "like men who know their rights, and knowing dare to maintain them," meet the foemen upon their own ground and outposts, dispute every inch of the way, and if necessary raze their fortifications to the ground?

"In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility;
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the tiger."

The only question then is, Have we peace or war? For war obliterates all treaties and obligations of law between belligerents. I think that war does exist; that the most dangerous foes we have are those who, having a common interest with us, yet give moral aid to those who are preparing to destroy us and lay our country in waste,—"crying, 'Peace, peace!' when there is no peace." Nor are they to be prevailed on to keep quiet; but as if they were real emissaries, "still attribute the tramp of the advancing enemy to the wind;" and would lull us into a fatal security. I can not see why any man loyal to the institutions of his country should do so. If under peculiar restraints, if his oath of office requires him to keep quiet, let him do it; but not interfere to paralyze the efforts of those who would protect his and their rights by a manly effort and without fraud.

By the Nebraska bill every man who happened to inhabit the territory at the time of the election was a qualified voter. No man was ever sworn that he would not go away. Then our men stood behind the law, as securely as those who march through our midst but to open fire upon us when they have sufficiently chosen their ground of attack.

In conclusion, I would respectfully ask, If Kansas be settled by Abolitionists, can Missouri remain a slave State? If Missouri goes by the board, what will become of Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia? And with these last, what will be the end of all this, and the consequences to the South? If the end must be disunion, a civil and servile war, is it not better to strike the blow now while the South is less weakened and there yet remains some love of country at the North? Perhaps this once glorious Union may survive the shock of a civil war! This, God in His Providence only knows; I know that Abolition and Union can not stand together.

P. S.—In the foregoing you have a rather free and perhaps loose expression of my views on some of the points touched upon in your letter. You further refer to D. R. Atchison's course, and speak of conservatives. You know my course in the legislature has been made the subject of comment.[1] I did then as I thought was right, and still think so. Yet I think that we of Missouri should never let Massachusetts colonize our frontier with the worst of her citizens, who are no lovers of the Union; and if war must come, let the consequences be upon the heads of those who force it upon us. I however do not expect a public war. I expect that blood will flow—must flow—freely, before that conservative apathy will be overcome which you invoke. Individual and popular outbreaks will occur; the North will see then that the demon of Nullification sits at her door to rob her children of their inheritance, of peace, and prosperity. It is impossible to abolish slavery and save the Union; and both the North and South must suffer unheard-of evils in the contest. With the fall of the Union will be heard the knell of liberty; and the experiment of republican government will be proven to be a failure. Thrones now tottering will become firm; while we, having lost our liberty, will have to struggle through centuries of border wars, and at last find peace, like France, in despotism.

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[1] This refers, apparently, to Hardeman's voting throughout, in the Senatorial contest, for the Whig candidate Doniphan, and against Atchison.

War makes way for ignorance, then superstition, and Roman Catholicism—itself a despotism of the souls and consciences of men. Happily for you and I, our days have been spent in the palmier days of the model republic, the like of which the world never saw before, nor ever will again.

Take away the slave products of the nation, and we are commercially poor. Poverty begets dependence, and ignorance follows in its train with all its evils.

Excuse the freedom of my style. In private and friendly letters, amendments and erasures are out of place.

The above letter, with its misconception of facts and principles, was typical of the sentiments of the better class of the ardent advocates of Missourian intervention in Kansas. The strength of such sentiments was probably greater than General Smith at this time knew. But he was not left alone in his fight against violence and fraud. The men whose opinions he most prized, and whose aid he most coveted, were largely on his side, as will be seen from the letters which follow,—the first of which, under date of May 24, 1855, was from Major James S. Rollins, of Columbia:

Your favor of the 17th inst. was duly received, and also your printed letter to the *Southwest Democrat.* I read both with great satisfaction, and it is unnecessary for me to add that I endorse your position throughout, and commend you for having the courage to take it. Unless the conservative men of the country stand firm, and resist the spirit of reckless and unprincipled fanaticism which a few dangerous demagogues are now inciting, there is positively no predicting what is to become of our institutions. The most unobservant must have witnessed for years past the utter disregard for all proper legal restraint which was springing up over the country, leading to mobs, to slander, to destruction of property, and even corrupting the public mind so far as to incite the getting up of armed expeditions against peaceful foreign governments.[1] Sir, if these continue, 'twill not be long before our beloved country will be wrapped in the flames of civil war. And when that evil day shall come, in the name of God, who other than Omnipotence can direct the current? Where is the pilot who will guide the vessel of State over the stormy billows? The French Revolution, confined to narrow territory, will have been a passive scene compared to that which we may encounter even in our day, in this boasted land of Liberty! I pray sincerely when I say, May God avert from us these terrible calamities!

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[1] General Smith was cordially at one with Major Rollins in his abhorrence of mob violence under any circumstances. The following incident, narrated by the late Senator George G. Vest, in a letter bearing date February 2, 1885, clearly shows this:

"I was present in the court house at Georgetown when the negro Sam was taken out by a mob at the head of which was George Anderson. The negro had committed the crimes of rape and murder, and the best men in Heath's Creek township were in the mob that took him out of the hands of the officers. This was in July, 1853, the crimes having been committed on Sunday, which I think was the third day of the month. I was a very young lawyer then, and this was the first case in which I ever appeared.

"When the negro was taken out of the court house, it was the intention of the crowd to hang him at once in the court house yard, but General Smith, Elder De Jarnatt and others pleaded with them to let the law take its course, and the matter was finally compromised by the keys of the county jail being taken from the sheriff, Mr. Killebrew, and the incarceration of the negro in jail with old Billy Rutledge as jailer for the mob. The negro made a full confession on the second day after he was put in jail, and in twelve days afterwards he was burnt at the stake in a hollow just north of Georgetown on the Heath's Creek road. General Smith did all that anyone could do to prevent any violation of the law, and was conspicuous in his attempts to have the negro regularly tried; but the mob was composed of cool, determined men, and all appeals to them were in vain."

The demagogues are doing all in their power to get up excitement in this locality. Thus far they have not succeeded. They renew their effort on the second of June, when a public meeting is called in this place. The principal instigators here are ——, old —— (ex-Judge), and ——, the Irishman at the head of the College. I hope the conservative men will be out in full force. Let me tell you that no man is doing more to corrupt the public mind of Missouri on these exciting questions than the aforesaid ——, and I hope, in considering his merits, you will not let your religious prejudices outweigh your patriotism.

I had the pleasure to receive from General Robert Wilson a letter yesterday. He assures me that the fillibusters will make no impression in Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, or Atchison counties; that the excitement is confined chiefly to Platte, Clay, and Jackson; that there will be no change in Atchison's favor from that quarter. We should not hesitate to make the issue which Atchison and his mobocrats have tendered; and if the law-abiding conservative portion of Missouri, those indeed the real slave-owners, most deeply interested in this question, are overpowered, it will only be that much worse for them and the country. But I do not believe that in such a contest we would fail; the "sober second thought" contains in it a powerful retribution. Let us act; if we err, it will be on the side of patriotism and of duty.

Especially laudatory was a letter from Mr. C. A.

Tabler, of Lafayette county, who wrote, July 15, 1855:

> I take the opportunity to express my approval and admiration of the stand you took in relation to the Kansas "wolf-hunt," more especially as you were the first man (as far as my observation went) who had the moral firmness to assume the right position. This proof of elevated principle will place you far above the demagogue in the estimation of honorable men; but what is more important, is the example it furnishes.

From Mr. Joe Davis, of Fayette, came the following letter, dated May 31, 1855:

> Yours of the seventeenth is at hand, and I am truly glad to hear from you, and sincerely regret with you that a blind fanaticism has seized upon the public mind and is likely to run the country blindly into ruin. Atchison is succeeding to a "t" in getting the wind up for his re-election to the United States Senate; and from the fever here now, I do not know that my seat in the General Assembly may not be vacated before November next, upon petition —as was threatened in your case. I saw your communication in the *Enquirer*, and heartily accord with all your views; but the rage is running over us, and I say, Let it go. A meeting is to be held here next Monday to whitewash the Parkville mob and the Kansas voting, and they will resolve both here, and have things their own way. I believe I shall just let them go, and see how far they will go before they stop.
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> The voting in Kansas by citizens of this State was practical nullification, call it by what name they

may; and as to the justification, it is a very meager one that because you offend or disregard a public law of Congress, that gives me an excuse to do the same.

Many Whigs who voted for me are now amongst the foremost men in the voting affair in Kansas,—have gone off after Atchison's lead; and Atchison, who is at the head of this whole matter, may raise the wind, but is there not a reaction to come over this thing? These men who voted for Pierce may well run crazy now that he has shown the world that he is an abolitionist and sent Governor Reeder to Kansas, to make that a free State, in order to serve the cause of Abolitionists at the expense of the citizens of Missouri and Arkansas. We well told them of this thing before they voted for Pierce; but the word "Democracy" cured everything, and that great hero and patriot, General Scott, was beaten by the rotten "Yankee," Franklin Pierce.

Now, sir, the government of this nation is tottering, and will fall unless the North holds her hand. They have nothing at stake but an imaginary philanthropy which bids them Christianize and liberalize the world. We have our vested positive rights of property in our slaves. We can not surrender; they must pause and recede, or all is gone.

Meanwhile, the inflammation in Kansas came to a head. On the one side were "poor whites of the slaveholding States, and the adventurous spirits of Western Missouri, assisted to some extent by Southern money, and led by Atchison and Stringfellow, who were playing a political game;" on the other were "men from the North, actual settlers, and the same kind of people that we have seen in our own day leave their homes and emigrate to Southern

California and Dakota."[1] Governor Reeder, who had declared at the time of his appointment that he would have "no more scruples in buying a slave than in buying a horse," found it impossible to get along with the pro-slavery legislature of the Territory, and was removed by the President. A code of laws was adopted in which the provisions relating to slaves, according to the congressional investigating committee, were of a "character intolerant and unusual even for that class of legislation." The free-State settlers, refusing to recognize the territorial government, held a convention of their own, adopted what is known as the Topeka Constitution, organized a State government under it, and petitioned Congress for admission to the Union. So far there had been no collision between the opposing forces. Late in November, however, the opportunity was presented for a blow at Lawrence, the chief free-State settlement, by the rescue of a free-State prisoner from the hands of a pro-slavery sheriff. Appealing first to Missouri for aid, then to the pro-slavery Governor of the Territory, the sheriff raised an army of some twelve hundred men, with which Lawrence was besieged. This constitutes the so-called "Wakarusa War," which came to an end December 7, 1855, with the loss of one life. The Missourians were obliged to leave the Territory; and the substance of victory remained with the men of Lawrence.

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[1] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, p. 101.

The alarm which these events excited in the minds of conservative men in Missouri, and the wild talk indulged in by the more radical and irresponsible of the "border ruffians," are indicated in a letter to General Smith from Brinksly Hornsby, who resided near Independence, in the extreme Western part of the State. He had previously written him (August 25) a letter of congratulation on the reaction which then seemed to be taking place, saying: "I believe the people in this section award to George R. Smith no small part in putting the ball in motion, and if I am not mistaken will properly appreciate his valuable services." Under date of December 11, 1855, in a letter marked by some incoherence and bad spelling, both corrected here, he expressed a more apprehensive view:

> I want to write to you, but it is uncertain whether you will get it. I suppose you know more about the events up here than I do, but I know more than I want to know. All is confusion here. We heard yesterday that they were still fighting at Lawrence, though it may all be false. There is one thing certain, that nothing is allowed to pass the Wakarusa; everything is stopped or destroyed. I started a drove of hogs to Kansas, and before getting them into the Shawnee nation had to turn them back.
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> I do not pretend to say that the people of the Territory are all right; but there is one thing certain: the destruction of Lawrence has been threatened for months, and I have heard of several men saying that Lawrence would be burned on the 6th inst. Certain individuals were threatened to be killed in the neighborhood of Lawrence.

It is intimated, or has been, that operations, if successful in Kansas, are to be commenced in Missouri, and every man be expelled or killed that it not right. This may seem a strange notion to you, but it is not more strange than other things. G. R. Smith, F. P. Blair, B. G. Brown, *Missouri Democrat*, Jefferson *Enquirer,* and some others are marked objects down your way. This is from common report. It is all a notion about the political atmosphere being calm, and it does seem to me that the legislature ought to take immediate and decisive action. There is certainly danger in delay; the feeling is getting intense both ways.

The situation, which was bad at the close of 1855, became worse in 1856. On May 21st came the destruction of Lawrence, by "a swearing, whiskey drinking, ruffianly horde, seven hundred and fifty in number. The irony of fate," writes the historian Rhodes, "had made them the upholders of the law, while the industrious, frugal community of Lawrence were the law-breakers."[1] The next day Charles Sumner was struck down on the floor of the United States Senate, by a brutal and cowardly assault, because of the vehemence of the language used by him in his speech on the "Crime against Kansas." Two days later, John Brown perpetrated the cold-blooded "Massacre on the Pottawatomie." These events precipitated a state of civil war, in which some two hundred lives and two million dollars worth of property were lost before the end of the year, free-State "jay-hawkers" vying with pro-slavery "border-ruffians" in plundering settlers of the opposite party.

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[1] *History of the United States,* II, p. 158.

These occurrences naturally were not without their influence in Missouri. A minister of high standing and eminent piety—a dear friend of General Smith, whose attitude was (in part) defined by his characterization of a certain newspaper as "corrupt and abominable; I would sooner indorse the New York *Tribune*"—wrote from a neighboring town on June 12, 1856, as follows: "The recent events in Kansas excited our people after the old style for a moment, but it was only for a moment. The reaction has already taken place, and the conservative feeling is now stronger and more openly avowed than it has ever been." From Lexington, on the other hand, R. C. Ewing wrote, June 18, 1856: "You had as well try to oppose an avalanche as to influence this Kansas excitement." And from Mr. Hornsby, whose report of threats in the West has already been given, came the following exhortation, under date of August 18, 1856:

> Knowing your position on the present unsettled state of the public mind, I take the liberty to address you a small note on the subject. It is well known by those who take the pains to inform themselves that things are transpiring in Kansas, and even in Missouri, that unless checked must certainly lead to a great deal of serious difficulty and bloodshed; and knowing you to be acquainted with many of the leading conservative men of the State, can you and they not start a movement by holding public meetings, or in some other way, to call out the conserva-

tive sentiment of the country and put a stop to the threatened catastrophe? Anything that I can do, tho' e'er so humble, will be done. If such a course be undertaken, I think Johnson county as a general thing will be right, of which I suppose you have no doubt. What are J. S. Rollins, F. P. Blair, and other conservative men doing? Do you feel like engaging in the work to restore peace, harmony, and union, and brotherly kindly feelings, as it was three years ago? Let me hear from you.

It is not necessary to trace further the course of the Kansas troubles, or the influence which they exerted on Missouri affairs, save to point out certain ways in which they affected General Smith's interests. The building of the Pacific road, which he had so much at heart, was checked by the inability of the Company to borrow money abroad. This was due, in part, as President McPherson wrote to General Smith from London (October 20, 1856), to "the Kansas question and the exaggerated stories they have about Missourians in Kansas, going there to vote and control the elections, stopping emigrants on the way, and driving out settlers, etc., which they get here with all the coloring of the New York papers; and it makes it almost hopeless to talk about our railroad securities." Also, as will soon be seen, General Smith's outspoken views on the Kansas question cost him an election to Congress in 1856. Finally, the existence of a strong and growing community of anti-slavery settlers in the neighboring Territory, led to an occurrence which cost the General the services of three of his slaves, and incidentally throws much light on his character. This episode may best be told in the words of his daughter, Mrs. M. E. Smith:

> One hot September day in 1857, a young man named Henry Spencer called at our house, with knapsack on his back, and asked for a drink of water. It was noon; dinner was on the table. The lad was well-dressed and his appearance indicated refinement. As he seemed tired, my father and mother with their usual hospitality asked him to sit down to dinner. The boy was communicative, as any boy of sixteen would be. Full of enthusiasm, and elated with his exploits, he began to relate his story.

His father, it developed, was the American consul at Paris, and had been sorely tried by his son's behavior. The boy's home was in Philadelphia, and he had been kept most of his short life in school, for which he had a strong aversion. Once before he had run away to escape it; his mother was heartbroken, but his father was inflexible, and had said that if he ever did so again he would disown him. The boy's importunities had at last overcome his parent's opposition, and much against their wishes and judgment he had been allowed to leave school and home. A good position had been obtained for him in a mercantile house in Cincinnati, with which the boy had seemed contented. The next thing heard from him, he had left Cincinnati,—"under most disgraceful circumstances," as an uncle wrote General Smith,—and was on his way to Kansas.

Our father and mother [continues Mrs. Smith] tried to persuade the boy to abandon his trip to Kansas and go back to his parents. They told him of the great privations he would have to endure, and gave him an invitation to stay at our house, while father wrote to Mr. Spencer, telling him that his son was with them, and that they were willing to keep him until he could make his peace once more. They told the boy that he might be perfectly at home for as long a time as was needed for such negotiations. Our father's letter reached Mr. Spencer just before he sailed for Paris. The only reply he ever sent was a cold cruel letter, saying that if our father befriended the boy it must be at his own expense, as he would never compensate him. Cruel, cruel words!

Under the arrangement which had been made, the lad stayed with us for three weeks. He was delighted with the little negroes and the horses, and made no difference apparently between slaves and owners,—was just as happy with one as the other. The days were filled with joy in his new experiences. The horses, not being in use on the farm at that season, were at his service; and he roamed over the fields, and galloped in boyish fashion over the roads. We were amused one morning at his ignorance. Our father had been much annoyed that morning to find that someone had tied the horses to a tree in the meadow where they had been turned out to graze over night. One after another of the negroes, when questioned, had replied: "I didn't, master." As the examination was coming to an end, young Spencer descended from his morning slumbers, and as soon as he understood what was in question, he called out: "Why I did it;" adding triumphantly that it was thus so easy to catch them when wanted. At another time, when trying to play the gallant, he vainly struggled to adjust the saddle to the horse's back, with the horn turned towards the tail. I can still see my father's wink and smile, as he signalled to us to let the boy alone to find out his mistake in his own way.

One morning, at the end of three weeks, while our father was in St. Louis, we were surprised to find Juliet our cook—the mother and young grandmother of all our negroes, except Henry—crying in the kitchen. On asking what was the matter, she said: "Henry is gone, and Harriet is gone, and Nancy is gone, and all the horses are gone." We found that young Spencer was also gone, and that our saddles were gone—a very suggestive state of affairs. My mother and I went over to the village and told the news, which spread through the sleepy little hamlet; and before noon a dozen men, armed and mounted, had gone out in different directions in search of the fugitives.

They were found on the western border of Missouri,—like Moses of old, just in sight of the promised land. They were speedily halted and made to retrace their steps; the captors, with much self-sacrifice, having decided to wait till they reached home before they lynched the offender—the daring and damnable Yankee! The latter was made to ride with his face toward the tail of the horse, which I have no doubt impressed him simply as a novel idea; and when they reached Georgetown, the whole party were lodged in jail. A telegram had been sent our father, and he reached home the same afternoon the fugitives were brought back. He and our mother visited the jail and decided, as they had thought before, that the negroes had run off with the boy instead of his running off with them. According to the story told by one of the negroes and admitted by the boy, he wanted to take the carriage, so as to take all the children. But the negroes knew better; they were afraid of discovery. He seemed to think they had as much right to a pleasure trip, or to their freedom, as anybody.

Our father and mother contributed to the boy's comfort by sending him bed clothes and food of better quality than that furnished the prisoners. They condoned his crime, very much to the disgust of the people who had undertaken to punish him. One of our mother's brothers said: "If your father's house were on fire the people ought to let it burn, if he defends this boy." But with our father's ideas of the boy's ignorance of the relation between master and slave, the boy's age and love of adventure, and our negroes' strong desire for freedom, together with his abhorrence of human bondage, he did defend him. The press throughout the country, of course, gave prominence to the occurrence; and the boy's relatives saw a clipping in one of the city papers telling of the affair. This last escapade was concealed from his poor stricken mother, who was already wild with solicitude for her child. Her cousin, Samuel L. Clement of Philadelphia, was sent to intercede for the boy; and knowing from the papers our father's kindness toward him, he came at once to us. Our father's heart was all that he could wish in sympathy for the young man's mother, and he joined the gentleman in a petition to the Governor to ask his intercession in behalf of the misguided youth. Certificates were produced to show that the lad was undeveloped and immature in intellect, and deficient in moral principles and discernment. When these were shown the Governor he at once granted the pardon, which was signed the same day (December 17). Even then it was necessary to use caution, and get the boy out of the way before news of his release was spread abroad. By collusion with the jailer, John Griffin, this was done; and the boy was stolen out of jail before day, and sent to our house to await the stage, by which he was conveyed to Jefferson City on his way home.

The verdict which the biographer must pass upon General Smith's action in this matter is the same as that contained in a letter from the lad's uncle in New York. "The relatives of young Henry Spencer here," the latter wrote, "all feel that without your aid the lad could not have been thus released and restored to his friends. They desire me to return you their most grateful thanks for your kindness in the matter, a kindness which can hardly be overestimated when they remember that the boy had deeply injured you, and that to render any aid to him made it necessary for you not only to forget the injury, but to encounter a very strong popular prejudice which prevailed among your neighbors and acquaintances, and which well might have kept a less magnanimous person than yourself silent and inactive." It is doubtful, indeed, whether the boy's relatives entirely realized the extent of the blow which had been inflicted upon the Smith household. The slaves concerned had all been reared from infancy in the family. Two of them had to be sold to appease the outraged feeling of the community; but the elder of the women the General refused to sell, because she had children, and he would not part mother and child. "I well remember the shadow that fell upon our household," writes Mrs. Cotton, "when those two negroes were taken from our midst. My father sat by the fireside like one who had buried dear friends; and as I write of it even now, the spell comes over me." Of the same event Mrs. Smith wrote more than forty years afterwards: "It makes my heart sick now to think of Henry. We never heard of him after he was sold. I hope to meet him in Heaven and be forgiven the injustice of keeping him in slavery. He must have passed into eternity before the war, or he would have come to let us hear from him."

CHAPTER X

STATE AND NATIONAL POLITICS

(1856—1858)

The political situation—Republican and "American" parties—General Smith becomes a member of the latter—Plans for the State elections of 1856—Smith suggested for Governor—Ewing nominated by the convention—Dissatisfaction with the ticket; its defeat—Smith seeks the American nomination for Congress in 1856; is twice defeated—Influence of his slavery views in this result—Major Rollins' candidacy for the governorship in 1857—Smith's part in the campaign—Apathy of the American party and zeal of the Benton men—Defeat of Rollins—Frank Blair on Congress and the Lecompton constitution—Plans for 1858—Smith advised to seek the nomination for Congress—Announces himself an independent candidate—His canvass and defeat.

Through the years 1856-58 the bitter struggle in Kansas continued, with the advantage, in spite of Federal interference, slowly shifting to the free-State side. In the nation the sectional antipathies of North and South settled into an antagonism that was hurrying the country into civil war. In Missouri, efforts were made to consolidate into one party all the elements of opposition to the dominant wing of the Democratic party; and agencies were thus prepared by which, when the struggle came, the secessionists were circumvented, and the State kept true to the Federal Union.

Into the attempts to overthrow the Democracy, General Smith threw himself heart and soul. He was a good hater,—of principles, if not of men; and the principles for which the anti-Benton Democracy stood, he cordially detested. They advocated an ultra pro-slavery policy; his tendencies were anti-slavery. They had opposed an extensive scheme of internal improvements; he had been urgent in its behalf. They were unsound on the money question and hostile to the State Bank; he had joined with Benton in opposition to financial heresies. Political offices were at this time looked upon as the legitimate spoils of political victory; but in the use of power the dominant party had been so unprincipled, and had placed in office men so corrupt and unfit, that no words were strong enough to voice the indignation which he felt.

The Democratic overthrow, it was evident by 1856, could never be effected by the old Whig party. Irremediably split on the slavery question by the compromise legislation of 1850, the doom of that party was sealed by the Kansas-Nebraska act. "Four years ago," said Seward in 1855, in his famous Albany speech, "it was a strong, vigorous party, honorable for energy, noble achievements, and still more for noble enterprises. . . Now there is neither Whig party or Whig, south of the Potomac." The only question its former members might decide was the party to which they would give their allegiance as its successor. In the South many united with their former antagonists and became Democrats. For those who did not, the choice was open between two new parties, each untrammeled by old names and old traditions. In these all men might stand on the same footing. One was the Republican party, whose basic principle was opposition to the extension of slavery; starting in the Northwest in 1854, its first national convention was held at Pittsburg in February, 1856. The other was the Native American, or "Know Nothing" party, whose characteristic principles were the exclusion of foreigners from office, the extension of the term of residence required for naturalization, and the maintenance of the Federal Union.

The latter party was a natural outcome of the large increase of foreign immigration in the middle of the century, of the growth in political and religious importance of the new-comers, and of the disunionist tendencies excited by the slavery controversy. The movement in opposition to foreigners began some years before; but it was only the organization of the Native American sentiment into a great secret society, with oaths, grips, and passwords, that made the movement politically formidable. In 1854 the order startled the political world by the strength which it showed in the elections of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts. On the slavery question its position was undetermined; and in the South it was joined in large numbers by former

Whigs, and by Democrats who refused to follow their party in its ultra pro-slavery policy. It thus became the chief hope of the conservative, patriotic men of the South, who had not yet despaired of the attempt by compromising the extreme claims of North and South to save the Union.

It was only natural that General Smith should be numbered among these. His opposition to slavery aggression, and his adherence to the doctrine "America for Americans," have already been made plain. Just when he definitely became a member of the order is difficult to say. In the debates in the legislature of 1854-55 on printing the Governor's message in German, he had said, ambiguously, "of the Know-Nothings spoken of he knew nothing and cared less." In his correspondence of 1856, he was constantly addressed as a member of the order. Under date of April 25, "the delegate from Independence (Mo.) Council to the American congressional convention at Georgetown" is introduced to General Smith; and in the margin of the letter, in the latter's handwriting, is a memorandum of the number of the Council, and the number of its membership—information which would not be revealed to an outsider. His membership in the order it would seem, must date from some time in 1855-56.

The views which prevailed among the leaders of the opposition to the Democracy, may be seen in the following letter from Major James S. Rollins. It was written from the latter's home, at Columbia, and bears date January 30, 1856:

Ours is a routed army; the soldiers scattered like the stars in the firmament; everything lost—senatorship, speakership, Bank directors, public printers, all gone! Without a leader, all is dismay and confusion! Next summer we have a new Governor to elect, all the judges, and one member of Congress. Can we regaïn any part of that which is lost? If not, we may at least preserve a nucleus around which to rally once more in 1860.

These matters were much canvassed whilst I was in Jefferson City. If the opposition could only be united, we have now the State! But can this be done? For one, I greatly doubt it. Frank [Francis P. Blair, Jr.] is for starting a Benton man for Governor; but I have learned enough to know that we can not unite the Americans on such an one. That arrangement would be acceptable to me, but I do not believe it would win. On the other hand, it may be quite hard to get the Irish and German vote for a Know-Nothing. My impression is that if an American is started, he ought to withdraw from the order.

Now, who should he be? To me it is a matter of indifference, so he is a true man. If Frank can't get a Benton man, he prefers you or me, and as you are the oldest soldier I defer to you. It is a place I do not covet. The severe labor of such a canvass, the surroundings at Jefferson if elected, the strong probability of defeat, are all terrors to me. With stronger nerves than most men, these things would rather urge you to the contest. If you, or Broadhead, or some other good American of the right stamp, could not be commanded, and the public sentiment pointed to me in so marked a manner as to convince me I ought to take the race, why I might be induced to go it. And rest assured that, once on the track, I would strike for the stakes. And rest assured further that, once at Jefferson City, a course of policy would be pursued that would unite all the elements of opposition, and that would build up a powerful and victorious party in the State for the future. Oh that our side,—and when I speak of our side I mean the American and Benton side,—had a little discretion! Next week the Railroad bill will be up; I want to be in Jefferson at that time. If at all convenient, come down there and let us talk all these matters over.

The letter is important as showing the high position held by General Smith in the councils of the opposition; it is also interesting as an expression of the sentiments of those who, with Smith himself, would sacrifice slavery, when the time came, to the preservation of Union and the overthrow of Democratic rule. The next letter represents the view of those whose opposition to the Democracy, as time proved, was less powerful than their attachment to the "domestic institutions" of the South. It is from S. H. Woodson, and bears date February 23, 1856:

What are you doing in Pettis for the great American cause,—that which is alone worthy, in this hour of national peril, the attention of all patriotic politicians? The spirit of '76 is reanimating the chaos of politics in this section, and a new creation in its primitive purity is evolved and stands forth worthy of the light of our republican institutions. If the American party succeeds, the Union is safe, and our domestic institutions will remain untouched; but if it fails, the horrors of intestine war, and all the appalling consequences of disunion, must ensue. I do not know whether you have joined the party, but I know that I write to a patriot whose heart is in the right place.

In a letter from Elder Allen Wright (from Lexington, Mo., February 28) we get another point of view,—that, namely, of an able, pure-minded minister of the Christian denomination, who loved the Union, but followed his community in supporting slavery. After an exhortation to "give all diligence to make your calling and election sure," he writes of politics thus:

Watchman, what of our country? Is this great republic to fall, that is the light of the world and the dread and abhorrence of despotism? Shall the stars and stripes of Liberty trail in the dust, and the last hope of the political redemption of the world perish? Shall the Union of these States be dissolved, and shivered into shreds and factions; and anarchy, confusion, and despotism triumph? These are questions that obtrude themselves upon my mind. I am no politician,—never have been and never expect to be; but I love my country, the happiest and most glorious upon the footstool of the Almighty Father. Where and what is the remedy? Is there purity and patriotism enough among us to avert the dangers that menace us? Where is the pilot equal to the task of guiding the ship of state, freighted with the hopes of millions of our race, safe to port upon the present stormy and much agitated sea?

In the meantime, the telegraph announces that Millard Fillmore is the nominee of the American party for the Presidency. What think ye of this? In my soul, I find a hearty response and say, Amen! The next question is, can we elect him over black Republicanism, and all the little dirty "isms" combined? Perhaps you are ready to exclaim, "Know Nothing! Know Nothing!" Stop sir! not so fast. I am a life member, so far as I understand their aims and objects. I am not one *of* them, but am one *with* them; and if alive and well, expect on the day of the fight to record my vote in favor of the sentiment, "None but Americans shall rule America." What say you to this? Are you one of the American party, or are you a Whig still, poor fellow! Or are you meditating upon the propriety of joining the hard or soft wing of Demagogy—pshaw! I nearly spoiled it,—Democracy? There! that is it.

The plans formerly broached by Major Rollins for a joint ticket of the opposition are returned to by him March 5th, 1856, in a letter which shows the scheme gradually taking on definiteness:

The ball opens handsomely for the American party. Fillmore and Donelson will be a powerful ticket with the people, and especially at the South. What will the Republicans do?

Now, General, we should see to it that in the State convention of the American party none but the right men are put on the ticket. It ought to be divided between Whigs and Democrats; and in selecting Whigs, at least for the higher posts, we should get real genuine old-liners. Can't you think of, and write out and propose, such a ticket, all properly located, and send it to the *Intelligencer?* The truth is, the Democratic material is rather scanty to choose from; but it is good, what there is of it. Fagg, Rains, Henry, must go upon it. If a

Whig is taken for Governor, we must have a true man,—one who will look to all the arrangements proper to be made next winter at Jefferson City. Now, you or I would do first rate; but the question is, would we be acceptable to the convention, or those who will control it? I hope you will see to it, —you and Blakey and Crooks,—that first-rate men are sent from all your region of country; and that you will be on hand yourself like a thousand of brick. I will endeavor to be there myself.

I have hoped all the time that you would take the race for Congress in your district. Why not announce yourself at once as a candidate? Would this be improper? I think not; we know Miller can not again make the race, and certainly I know of no one else having better claims than yourself upon the district, or upon the Whig-American and Benton parties. I repeat, therefore, if you feel like running just announce yourself subject to the approval of the American district convention. I do believe it would be a good move. You can beat Reid[1] to death. If you will do this, and they should lick you for Congress, and should elect me Governor, I will have patronage enough in my hands to take good care of you.

One more important suggestion. We must have a first-rate internal improvement man for Governor. You see the trials thro' which our system has been forced to pass by having a jackass in the gubernatorial chair.

I am glad that Frank and Gratz[2] will be satisfied with Americans, if thereby they can accomplish the overthrow of the Nullifiers. This again proves that we ought to have a true man for Governor. I repeat, therefore, attend to your side of the river.

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[1] Candidate for the Democratic nomination: in the Eighteenth General Assembly he had voted against the Railroad bill.

[2] F. P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, both Benton Democrats, were among the most active Union men in Missouri. The former was the vice-presidential candidate with Seymour in 1868, and the latter with Greeley in 1872.

The State convention was held at St. Louis late in April. Messrs. Smith and Rollins were both there, and were active in the party consultations. Political "machines" were far less developed at that time than now; and such organization as then existed was less close and regular in the West than in the East. Nevertheless, secret councils and caucuses of the leaders were inevitable; and such appear in the following letter from William H. Russell, dated June 5, 1856:

I have seen the miserable and contemptible effort of some anonymous, irresponsible scribbler, that charges Mr. Blair with making a dishonorable proposition to me as president of our late nominating convention; but I thought it utterly unworthy of notice. But now that such esteemed friends as yourself and Major Rollins seem to attach some importance to it, I will as an act of justice to Mr. Blair so far notice it as to give to it the lie direct.

Your recollection of the very pleasant conversation in my room in which Messrs. Blair, Grover, Burden, you, and myself took part, is to the letter correct. Mr. Blair, in my judgment, is incapable of making a base proposition to anyone; and if he was so disposed, he is entirely too good a judge of human nature to have selected such men and such an occasion to submit it.

I feel myself now called upon as an honorable man to give publicly the true version, which I will do through our friend, Major Rollins, and substantially just as you have stated it. I do not believe that I ever spoke of the conversation except to a few bosom friends of Major Rollins; and if at all, in no other light than as you regarded it.

The allusion here is to some project for procuring the nomination of Rollins for Governor. But Major Rollins was not nominated by the convention, and the ticket put forth was one which only partly met his approval and that of his political friends. Under date of May 21, 1856, he writes to General Smith:

There are some good men on the State ticket, but it is not such an one as the American party ought to have presented. But we have got it and must press it thro',—which I believe we can do by a thorough effort. You are greatly mistaken when you say old "Just So" is politically dead. He had more to do in fixing up the State ticket than any ten men in the convention. Ewing was his man; for if elected, he knew he could serve him at Jefferson, and if defeated, he knew he would not be in his way. From all I can learn, I think we have every prospect of carrying the State; but unless I am greatly mistaken, you will find at Jefferson City next winter precisely the same combinations of political elements that we had to contend with last winter, and it will result most probably in some fishy unreliable American, and contemptible "rotten" [being elected] to the United States Senate. Even should "Old Bullion" come home and canvass the State for the benefit of the American party, the result would not be different. They would accept his services, and d—n him for having rendered them. In view of this opinion, you will see the importance of sending up good men to the legislature; and if you decline going to Washington, you will at least be prompt in having yourself returned again to Jefferson City.

Elsewhere in this letter Major Rollins says: "The policy of the American party ought to be to defeat the 'rottens.' Therefore, in the Southwest, where we can not choose our own men, let them throw off on the Bentons. Such a favor will doubtless be reciprocated in cases where they can not elect."

The suggestion that General Smith run for Congress had been made by his friends again and again. Ten years before (in 1846), and again in 1848, the attempt had been made to give him the Whig nomination; but in the first instance he had withdrawn his name, and in the second he failed of nomination. The suggestion, when renewed by Major Rollins, was repeated from all sides. Certainly there was no one, as stated by the latter in his letter of March 5, who had "better claims . . . upon the district, or upon the Whig-American and Benton parties"; and although, as a man of downright character and outspoken habit, he had many enemies, he had also many warm friends, even among those politically opposed to him. "I am not a member of the Know Nothing order," wrote one of these, "nor do I ever expect to be. Yet I am a friend to General G. R. Smith, and will support him. I have but little influence, but all I have is yours,—from personal considerations alone." (A. G. Blakey, May 16, 1856.)

Nevertheless, there was deep distrust of him, due to his lukewarmness in the slavery cause, and his ardor for internal improvements; and the district convention of the American party, although held in his own town, passed him by and gave to Col. S. H. Woodson the nomination for the next congressional term.

When news came soon after of the death of Mr. Miller, then Representative in Congress, an effort was made to induce Mr. Smith to become a candidate for his unexpired term:

> Upon seeing the death of John G. Miller announced [wrote Major Rollins in a portion of his letter of May 21, not before quoted] a number of your friends in St. Louis and at Jefferson City expressed a strong desire that you should become a candidate to fill the vacancy. Why not? You and Woodson could then aid each other along, and bring about the best state of feeling. In view of the fact that the present Congress will most likely have to elect the President, the vacancy of Miller is a much more important post than to succeed him. I place my desire to see you run chiefly on this ground; but I may add, the compliment of a seat in Congress is eminently your due, and at the hands of the American party. If this letter reaches you in time, therefore, and it is at all compatible with your feelings, just announce yourself at once for the vacancy. I'll promise to make several speeches for you in Cole, Moniteau, and Cooper, and along the river, where you will most need help. Certainly the railroad on the ridge and the river interest combined, ought to carry you thro'.

For this office also, General Smith's claims did not go uncontested, even within his own party. Against the veteran of fifty-two years, worn with services for his district and his party, was put up a stripling of twenty-four,—at that hour actually too young to be eligible to a seat in Congress,—whose chief recommendations were his ready tongue and the lack of any taint of heresy on the slavery question. Thomas P. Akers, of Lexington, Lafayette county, was the rival; and in the support which he received in the river counties, may be traced a lingering hostility to General Smith for the defeat of the river route for the Pacific road.

In a letter from Lexington, dated May 27, 1856, William S. Field writes:

> The contest for Congress will rest between yourself and Mr. Akers, as Woodson desires that he shall have help in the field, and does not desire to run for both places. Many are trying to slay you on the negro question, which is unjust and wrong; and I have and do thus express myself at all times and under any circumstances. And you shall not be slain on that question if I can avoid it; believing as I do that you are a sound, conservative pro-slavery man. Akers is powerful on the stump, and is popular; and to be candid—which is the office of a friend—I believe he can get the nomination from this county, not only over yourself, but over any man in the district; and he has said if nominated he will run.

General Smith set to work to secure this nomination, writing to his friends, responding to calls to address local councils of the order, and using like means. From William H. Russell, president of the late State convention, his letter of May 28, stating his wishes, called forth the following reply, dated June 5, 1856:

> I am decidedly in favor of your being the candidate for Congress to fill the vacancy created by the death of Mr. Miller, and I think the better plan is for your friends to announce you without the intervention of a convention, which would most likely be productive of bad feeling and discord rather than of harmony or strength. I shall myself act upon this principle, and so announce you in our county paper.

In the contest for this nomination, General Smith was warned of the injury which his views on slavery were doing him. From Lexington he was informed by Field, on June 10, of the "howl of free-soilism" against him, which led the local council to instruct its delegate for Akers. Notwithstanding this, his correspondent continued, if Smith should receive the nomination he would "get a heavy majority" in Lexington, as he had many friends there, the council being divided 20 to 25 between him and Akers. R. C. Ewing, writing from the same place eight days later, more than confirms the view that the opposition to General Smith was chiefly due to his views on slavery. The feeling on that question about Lexington, he wrote, was "strong and all-absorbing."

> I apprehend [he continues] it will be felt in the nomination next Monday. Your reported opinion in relation to Kansas is doing you a deal of damage in Saline, Lafayette, and Jackson. Those who control matters here say they are afraid of the effect of compromising anything on the slavery question; and with this feeling I apprehend the three counties mentioned will oppose your nomination. I learn that your position in reference to this question has been fully discussed, and that the leading influences of the three counties are against you.

In the end Akers secured the nomination, and ultimately his election, as also Woodson. Indignant at what he deemed base misrepresentation of himself, General Smith charged Woodson with "meddling" with the nomination for the vacancy, and declaring publicly that Smith was "as great an abolitionist as there was in Massachusetts or the North." These charges Colonel Woodson denied, in a letter dated July 1, saying that he had "invariably spoken of [him] as a gentleman in whom [he] had the utmost confidence, and for whom [he] entertained the highest personal regard"; adding that he was grieved that their friendly relations should be thus strained by mere rumor. But there can be no doubt, from Woodson's subsequent course in Congress, that he was secretly rejoiced that a man whose views on slavery were unsafe, from the Southern point of view, was not to precede him in his congressional seat.

News of General Smith's defeat in the convention was conveyed to Russell in a letter of June 15, to which the latter replied, two months later (August 27, 1856), on his return from an extended trip through the East, in a letter commenting upon the Whig defeat at the August elections, and the prospects and qualities of the presidential candidates. The results of the late State election he considered a demonstration that "our great and glorious party, originating for the patriotic purpose of rebuking office-seekers, has itself degenerated into one of exclusive personal benefit and extreme selfishness." Akers' triumph over Smith proved "that merit has to give way to supposed expediency, and long-tried service to the pert, impudent pretensions of a stranger." Ewing's defeat for Governor he regrets; and in spite of a former prejudice against him, he now fully concurs with General Smith in his opinions of Ewing's merits. Concerning national politics, he writes:

> I have now scarcely a hope of our ability to elect our good candidate Fillmore, and it pains me to the very core to think of taking in his stead such a poltroon as old Buck, and his right bower Douglas and Company. I came through Boone, and talked much with our friend Rollins and others; and we have resolved not to be transferred to the car of a deceitful politician like old Buck. For my part, I consider Frémont,—objectionable as he is on account of the company that he at present consorts with,—as less objectionable than Buchanan, and if compelled to choose between the two I shall take Frémont as the least of the evils.
>
> I go down to St. Louis on the first of October, as a grand juror of the Federal Court. Suppose you

meet me there and consult together on some measure of safety. . . I have nothing encouraging from the East for Fillmore.

This passage is of interest as affording the first evidence of a disposition, among those with whom General Smith was acting, to go the length of voting for the Republican candidate, in order to defeat the distrusted and detested Democratic party. Whether General Smith at this time was willing to do this, is not apparent; but when once the struggle between the forces of union and disunion should compel a decision, without a third alternative, between the Republican and the Democratic parties, there could be no doubt as to his choice. Even now his fundamental principle was "never to vote for anyone not ardently in love with this glorious Union." (Quoted by Eldridge Burden in a letter of August 16, 1856.)

The next political situation worthy of note is that created by the resignation of Governor Trusten Polk, upon his election, early in 1857, to the United States Senate. At once the "Union" party—using the term, applicable in a two-fold sense, to designate the forces opposed to the "soft" wing of the Democracy—determined to revive Major Rollins' candidacy for the office, but this time without the doubtful intervention of a convention.

News of this and of the part which General Smith was expected to play in the campaign, was conveyed, together with much information of a political character, in a letter from B. Gratz Brown, from Jefferson City, March 3, 1857. Brown was then editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, and Representative from St. Louis in the legislature. That body, he informs General Smith, would adjourn on Wednesday for the summer recess. The Bank bill, his correspondent would be glad to learn, had become a law. The Railroad bill, giving the Pacific road a million dollars additional when it should have spent five hundred thousand west of Jefferson City, had passed both houses and would receive the signature of the acting Governor.

> In regard to politics [the letter continued] I believe that I may say we are at last united in name as well as reality. Rollins is to be the candidate for Governor independent of party nominations. The Americans have recommended him as their first choice, and desired him to make the race on those terms. The Benton Democracy have formally pronounced him their first choice, and appointed a committee of five to address him a letter calling upon him to announce himself as an independent candidate. A few of the old-line Whigs—Wilson, Cornwall, Carson—agree to do the same thing. Thus you see the sentiment seems to be united, and the whole opposition concentrated. Rollins will enter upon the canvass with vigor, and visit every county in the State. He will begin at once, so you may as well go to work in Pettis and get the combination perfected. We are all quite sanguine here that we can beat Stewart by a good majority, with proper exertion. Everything, however, depends upon taking matters at the start and getting the ball in motion before our friends shall get committed. The bogus *Republican* [of St. Louis] will be against

us, and I am glad of it; for it would be no victory to me if the honor were to be shared with that sheet. Mayo [of Osceola] will go with the Nullifiers, and it will be necessary at once to start a press down in that section of the State, as well as at Springfield. I had a long talk with Rollins a few days ago, and before anything was done. He is keen for the campaign, and pledges himself to do the work of the canvass in a masterly style. So do not let things go wrong in your division. Remember, you are commander of the left wing of the allied army!

You will see from documents I have sent you all along pretty much what has been doing this session, and can judge of the demoralized state to which we have reduced the lately so victorious enemy. Within the last fortnight I have carried the House against the Anti leaders upon three of their most important party propositions, and defeated them by crushing votes. They were principally extravagant stealing operations, designed to bolster up their strikers and furnish funds for the summer campaign; so that they are very much cast down. Reid and Henderson are much reduced in flesh, and I think it will not be long before a split occurs in the camp of the Nullifiers on the plunder questions, quite as serious as on the Palm question.[1]

I sent you a few days since a copy of my remarks upon the Emancipation resolutions, and would be glad to hear from you upon the developments therein contained. It was a startling speech to the House in some respects, and took the opposition members by surprise. In St. Louis, I hear it has raised quite a furor, and my advices are that we shall carry the county in April by three thousand majority, and in

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[1] Palm, "an avowed emancipationist," according to Brown, had secured the pro-slavery endorsement for a directorship in the Bank, which was afterwards repudiated.

August Rollins will have six thousand over Stewart. It was framed principally, as you will see from reading it, to suit my own meridian; but I am sanguine enough to hope it will not be without good effect even in other counties of Missouri.[1]

Confirmation of Major Rollins' determination to be an independent candidate, together with an urgent request for Smith's aid, came in a letter from Rollins himself, dated from his home in Columbia, April 23, 1857:

> After much debate with myself and more with my wife I have this morning (improvidently, I expect) flung out my banner to the breeze as a candidate for Governor. The step is taken; it is now too late to look back; and in the language of Lord Byron, I have only to say:
>
> "Whatever sky's above me
> Here's a heart for every fate."
>
> To tell you the truth, I am in a bad fix for a good race. Dr. Pope, whilst I was at St. Louis, extracted a large wen from my leg, and at this time I am unable to ride. I am confined to my room, but I shall be out just as soon as the physical man will allow. In the meantime I shall put forth a neat and well-turned circular.
>
> The reports are of the most encouraging character from every quarter; and I firmly believe if the Americans will stand firm and give me the vote which Ewing got, I shall be elected with ease. Tom Anderson has agreed to take the stump for me;

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[1] See chapter xii for an account of this speech.

Doniphan is all right; ex-Governor King is right. I got a letter from John Wilson; I still hope he will give me the field. Did you write to him?

Now, my dear General, whilst I intend and am every hour doing my best for our common cause, I must rely upon good friends to aid me along. Your extensive and popular acquaintance along the line of the Pacific road, and indeed in the whole Southwest, will enable you to do a great deal for me. Just say to our friends along both branches of your road, that if I am Governor both must go thro', and that before the end of my term I'll take the cars for Kansas and the beautiful valley of the Neosho! Write to Boyd, Hendricks, and Richardson at Springfield.

Again let me impress upon you the necessity of dropping a line now and then to the *Intelligencer, Statesman, Express, Tribune* (Liberty), *Times* (Glasgow), *Enquirer* (Jefferson), giving an account of the prospects all over the Southwest. Just a few lines in the way of a letter will encourage and arouse our friends.

I can not now say when I will be in Pettis. Rest assured I'll do the very best I can. The truth is I have the work of two men now, just answering letters,—and which must be answered or else offence may be given.

To your family present our kind regards, and say to the young ladies that I hold them both to their promise to throw over this canvass, and in my favor, the charm of their graceful and unerring influence.

Into the canvass thus begun in behalf of his political and personal friend, General Smith threw himself with his customary energy. His prominence in the party was daily becoming greater. In

May he was appointed a delegate to the National Council of the American party to be held at Louisville, June 2; but could not attend. From Cass county, Russell wrote him that they were up in arms for Rollins, and that Pettis must look out or Cass would wrest from her the honor as the banner county. But not all the news was of so encouraging a character. On June 29, Rollins wrote:

> There is considerable apathy on the part of our friends. Of my success I would not entertain a doubt if they were generally only as active as yourself; and if this election is lost, it will be for the want of a fair effort with our party. I intend to do my whole duty,—and if my friends will not act, why then let the party be defeated and be—damned!
>
> You have seen Benton's letter to Branch. It is all right. In the next *Enquirer* there will also be one from T. L. Price, a capital one, and into which he incorporates Benton's letter. Now it occurs to me if this letter of Price's were struck off by itself, and with Benton's letter extensively circulated in the Benton counties, it would be the very best thing to promote our objects. I will have the matter attended to on this side of the river.
>
> Branch will publish a similar one, as he writes to me to say. He is an efficient and working man, and writes to me the most encouraging news from the Northwest. I trust any commendable activity on the part of the Benton men will not have the effect to drive off any of our Whig and American friends.
>
> In the Southeast I met with much encouragement and only regretted that I could not spare more time to visit in that quarter some other counties.

The apathy complained of was due in part to the specter Abolition, which Southern men at this time saw stalking in every movement and behind every man who did not avowedly put slavery above Union, and profess its protection and extension to be the chief end of government. His cordial agreement with the position which General Smith occupied on this question has already been pointed out; but greater tact and caution in his public utterances had prevented Rollins from incurring the odium which had fallen on his friend. For this reason the influence of the slavery question in the contest was not so great as one might expect, as appears by a letter from Woodson to Smith, dated Independence, July 26, 1857:

> Rollins is sweeping everything before him in this part of the State. I have no doubt that his speeches in this county have made a difference in his favor of at least two hundred votes. His position and past personal history upon the slavery issue, though highly conservative, are altogether acceptable to the most ultra pro-slavery men of our party; and I believe he will not lose five old-line Whigs in our county, even among the many who voted for Buchanan. The Benton men will support him without a single exception, and the combined opposition to the Antis are enthusiastic in his behalf. He has more than realized the expectations of his warmest admirers, and has astonished and captivated all who had never before heard him. Bets are freely made here upon him without odds, and the Antis are greatly alarmed. The election of Rollins will be a virtual transfer of the State to the Americans!

This result, however, was not to be. An "excellent majority" was returned for Rollins in Pettis, but for the State as a whole his opponent, R. M. Stewart, defeated him by 334 votes. It was much honor, no doubt, to have cut the Democratic majority down to so small a figure;[1] but Rollins naturally felt sore when he thought how a little less apathy on the part of the Americans would have insured his election. In reply to General Smith's assurances of sympathy, he wrote, September 1, 1857:

> It is hard indeed that I should have been permitted to be defeated, after the severe labor and sacrifice which I made, and for the good of the cause. The opposition to the National Democracy know not what they have lost in not electing me, for with my election the State would have been ours for many years to come. As it is, I doubt whether the opposition can ever be cemented and made a compact, united, and solid party. Upon this subject, your views and my own are identical. It is worth the effort to bring about the union,—and I shall work strenuously for it. Switzler has taken the right direction, in the last number of the *Statesman.*
>
> I hope to meet you somewhere this fall,—if not at St. Louis, at Jefferson City during the sitting of the legislature,—when with others we can have a full talk, in the arrangement of a programme for the future.
>
> I can not say that I am not disappointed; but I can say, with all truth, that I am neither disheartened nor dismayed, but I am more than ever ready to do all in my power to unite the fragments of the opposition and build up a great party in opposition

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[1] When a candidate for Governor, in 1848, Rollins was defeated by King by 14,953.

to the corrupt scoundrels who have possession of the government, State and National. . . . .

One result of the election was to show the futility of putting chief reliance on the American party. That organization had already run its brief course. Its history had shown that neutrality in the slavery contest was but the shadow of a dream. "Because thou art lukewarm and neither cold nor hot," was the verdict of the nation, North and South, "I will spue thee out of my mouth." Inevitably men of General Smith's views were forced into yet more pronounced hostility to the dominant Democracy, and the principles which it represented; and this process, in course of time, was to lead them into the Republican fold.

At first, the tendency was merely towards a closer union with the Benton men. "My plan," wrote Russell to Smith, September 10, 1857, "is to enter heart and soul with our Benton allies, and at once to satisfy them of our high appreciation of their recent services by selecting from among them our principal standard-bearers in the fight to come off next August." The position in national politics which the Benton men took, and the energy with which they proposed to act, are indicated in a letter from Frank Blair, written December 16, from Washington, where he was serving in Congress. The Lecompton constitution, it may be noted in explanation, was the disgraceful scheme of government which the pro-slavery party, backed by all the authority and cajolery of Buchanan's administration, sought to force upon Kansas, allowing the settlers in that Territory to vote merely upon the question of taking it with or without slavery.

> We have got the National Demagogues split irretrievable on the Lecompton constitution, and now we shall go on conquering and to conquer. You must begin at once to look after Missouri at the next August election. We want candidates in every county in the State for every office to be filled at that election. We must have a committee at Jefferson to correspond with the men in every county, and arrange for candidates upon principles of compromise and conciliation among the opposition, and death to the Demagogues.

Acting upon this exhortation, General Smith wrote Major Rollins, January 6, 1858, to concert plans for the coming elections. In this letter he sounded his friend with regard to his (Smith's) once more seeking an election to Congress. Rollins' answer, dated January 13, was non-committal; he had so recently experienced the difficulty of combining the diverse elements of the opposition, that he was loath to recommend the experiment to his friend.

> Unfamiliar as I am with the public feeling in your district,—and to some extent, also, with the relative party strength of the Bentons and Americans, I am not prepared to say who ought to be the candidate, but this I have to remark: I don't know where they would find a better Benton man than yourself; and as to your Americanism I believe I can say as it was said of Mary at the tomb of our

Savior, that you were the first to arrive and the last to leave. And as to your hatred to the National Pirates—alias Demagogues—alias *Black* Democrats,—I can certify that it is both terrible and unrelenting. I have received several letters from your district in regard to the candidacy; your name has been mentioned in all them. I have responded to all as I now say to you: Go on, and in a fair and liberal spirit select, in view of the state of parties, the strongest man; take him who will be most acceptable to those from whom we expect our support; let there be no jarring or discordant feeling; work to the single point, and that is, the overthrow of the Demagogues; and all will be——? When the choice is made, upon whomsoever it may fall,—whether upon you or a less deserving man,—I will be in the thickest and hottest of the fight, rallying our forces by pen and tongue to the rescue.

The day after he had written to Rollins, General Smith wrote to Russell, now removed from Cass county to Independence, with the same end. In his reply, dated the 24th, Russell refers to his letter of September 10, before quoted, as foreshadowing every sentiment contained in Smith's present communication. He agreed in the view that it was desirable to make a change in their standard-bearers, but he wished to effect it so as not to give offence.

If, strictly *inter nos* [he continues], it is our policy not to run Colonel Woodson again, we should so manage it as not to mortify or wound his feelings; for he is both entitled to sincere respect, and has the power of being severely felt if it is unjustly withheld from him. Could not our friend Blair at Washington be made the medium of inducing him to withdraw his pretentions to another race, without offending his pride or self-respect? If so it would be a great point gained.

General Smith proceeded to act upon the suggestion with reference to Blair, but without the desired result. The situation in Congress, and the reason why it was impossible to do anything with Woodson, are indicated in Blair's letter of February 6, 1858:

> I received your kind letter many days since, and thank you for it. We have got our feet on the necks of the National Demagogues. The House has been sitting since twelve o'clock of the 5th; it is now one o'clock of the 6th, and the probability is that we shall remain in session two or three days without intermission. We are trying to force them into a vote on the essence of the Lecompton swindle and the President's message to a select committee. They are interposing motions to adjourn, calls of the House, etc., etc.; but we beat them on every motion, and intend to hold their noses to the grindstone until we grind them off. The d—ned rascals feel lost; they know that when we do reach a vote, we shall beat them.
>
> I think you ought to have the race for Congress. Neither Price nor Lusk are fit to be elected, and can't be. I think the best plan for you is to get the nomination from the Know Nothings and start out on the track. I don't know that anything can be done with Price or Lusk by me, but I will write to Gardenhire and others to try and beat some sense into their heads. Woodson and Anderson vote steadily with the Demagogues. I have tried my best to prevent their making d— fools of themselves, but I can do nothing with them. They may go to

the devil their own road, because we have the deadwood on them in this House of Representatives, and I think the Administration will not be able to carry another measure this Congress. You must send lists of people all over your district, and I will send them the documents.

Best regards to all friends in Missouri. You must try your d—nedest to harmonize matters in the State, and especially your district. We must carry Missouri next August.

In a letter written February 20, Major Rollins reads the signs of the times in national and State politics with much shrewdness.

I think we shall see some strange shifting of the political scenes in a short time; and whilst we should fight steadily and with courage in Missouri, whatever may be the result of the race here, I think we'll floor the scoundrels in the next national contest. The signs of the times look that way. If the Lecompton constitution be rejected, as I most sincerely hope it will be, the Nullifiers may take some decisive step toward a dissolution of the Union; and we shall then, for the first time in Missouri, have the rascals where I have been desiring to get them. They must either join us, or they must go for disunion with the Nullifiers; and taking either shoot, I think we can crush them.

On the 6th of March, Blair wrote, replying to a letter from General Smith, in terms which must have cheered his heart:

The better opinion here is that we shall beat Lecompton in the House notwithstanding the defection of Messrs. Anderson and Woodson. They have lost all character here, and are not even respected by the Democrats, who use them. It is often said that the Americans in the Southern States might as well send Democrats at once to Congress, as to send men who always vote with the Administration. It is certainly a very useless trouble for the opposition to elect men to vote with the Administration; and therefore it is to be hoped that if you run any opposition ticket at all, it will be composed of men who really belong to the opposition, and not of men who are essentially and in every respect as good Administration men as any in the House of Representatives.

I hope you will have no trouble in getting the nomination in your district. Having served with you in the legislature, I know that you will be found against these scamps; but I presume you won't need my endorsement to help you in your district. Write me often and keep me advised of everything that happens. All eyes are turned upon Missouri, and if we can defeat the Nullifiers next August, we shall be circled with a halo of glory. I rely upon you and Jim Rollins for the 2d and 5th districts; and I want you to write to your friends in the 4th district to support Branch and to force old King off the track. He is not fit to be elected; you know that he would sell out the district after his election to Old Buck.

With such encouragement from his political friends, General Smith pursued his canvass for the congressional nomination. Every legitimate influence was used by him. Among others, he wrote his nephew John A. Martin, then a young lawyer of Cass county, with a request that he write to the papers of that section in his interest. From Martin's reply (March 16), it seems that he lent a half-hearted compliance with the request, but forebore openly to espouse the cause, lest it should compromise himself with the Democratic party. "Uncle, I do not know but what my friendship for you," he writes, "is leading me somewhat beyond the latitude of an honest Democrat; for I must say that I am a Democrat to the backbone, without the slightest taint of Republicanism, Know Nothingism, Bentonism, or any other ism but conservativism. At the same time, I must admit that I would be greatly rejoiced to see you elected to Congress from this district." This was the attitude taken by many of the General's friends in the district. From personal considerations they would like to see him elected, but they would not turn their hands over to effect this end. General Smith's most cordial support came from political leaders in distant parts of the State; in his own immediate community, narrow-minded jealousy, distrust of his blunt and impetuous nature, and blind and selfish conservatism fought against him.

The outcome was that, in spite of the opposition of his wife and daughters, he resolved to come out as an independent candidate, without regard to party nominations. Taking advantage of the absence of his family at McAllister Springs, he issued the following card through the local papers:

Georgetown, Mo., July 12, 1858.

To the voters of the Fifth Congressional District:

Fellow Citizens,—In reply to solicitations from numerous friends in every part of the district, I now announce myself an independent candidate to represent the 5th Congressional District in the next Assembly. Thus long have I waited with a hope that a better state of feeling would exist among the opponents of the present dominant party; and that the causes which have operated to prejudice the position of the present incumbent might be removed. Instead however of this, I find that ill state of feeling deepening and widening. And in Colonel Woodson's card announcing himself a candidate, there is presented unmistakable cause for dissatisfaction, strong and uncompromising. In his canvass of 1856, he distinctly and unqualifiedly denounced the so-called "National Democratic party," as sectional in its organization and principles;—to use his own language, "Democracy stunk in the nostrils of the nation," and that the American party alone was national in principle and organization, and conservative and patriotic in feeling and purpose. But in his circular, without any new circumstances or additional reason for so strange and sudden a revolution in his views, he boldly tells the same people that this same Democratic party is national in its organization and disposed to do equal and exact justice to all. Join this strange but significant declaration with the no less strange conduct of the two sham Democratic conventions recently held at Georgetown, and the strong endorsements and extravagant laudations given by the Anti-Benton press of the district and State, and we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that either Colonel Woodson, or that party who in '56 "stunk in the nostrils of the nation," have changed positions. Two brief years only have passed since the Democratic papers of the whole State, as well as their politicians upon the hustings, apparently vied with each other in their proficiency in the use of billingsgate and bitter denunciations of Colonel Woodson, as the exponent of the American Conservative party. Recently they have discovered that he is "one among ten thousand and altogether lovely," and far preferable to any man of their own party. Although they did not formally nominate him as their candidate at either of the two conventions, yet enough is known to satisfy every honest mind that it was the controlling sentiment of that Convention;—so much so, that of late the Colonel never speaks or writes of his political glory without grateful reference to the endorsement of the "Democratic convention of Georgetown." This fact is no less startling than the reason thereof is apparent.

Fellow citizens, I honestly conceive that Colonel Woodson's whole object and design is to force upon this people false and unnecessary issues. He comes home, still warm from the fierce and heated contest between the fanatic of the North and the demagogue of the South,—a struggle in which there is no principle involved so controlling and powerful as self-promotion and aggrandizement,—and he attempts to disturb the peace and good of this people by exciting dreadful apprehensions of danger that really has no existence. He is before the people an agitator;—canvassing a question that only tends to arouse feelings of hostility among our fellow brothers of the South,—creating discord, where otherwise there would be union of feeling, union of action, and union of purpose. For I am persuaded that the security of the domestic institution of slavery greatly depends upon the non-agitation of that subject. Experience dictates such a policy; and he who loves most this institution discusses it least. I now, as I always have, deprecate the agitation of this question. No good can come of it. And for the unhappy position of this matter before the nation, the present Democratic party is alone responsible. In their platform, adopted immediately preceding the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, agitation was disclaimed and denounced. The repeal of that measure was to effect the same end. In their Cincinnati platform, allegiance to non-agitation was as sacredly pledged, and the election of Mr. Buchanan was to bring about the same "consummation so devoutly wished for." Yet the nation is convulsed with the slavery agitation, and there is no peace to this people. And Colonel Woodson, as if thoroughly inoculated into the instincts and practices of this Demagoguing party, makes this canvass upon what Colonel Benton truthfully characterized as the "senseless wolf-howl." With Colonel Woodson's vote upon the Lecompton bill, I have no controversy. I was always opposed to making this pet of the Administration a test in the American party; and I am as strenuously opposed to having this issue forced upon me. And herein is the grievance occasioned by Colonel Woodson. He denounces as co-operators of the Black Republican party all who did not vote with the Administration upon this bill. And he makes this race upon the record made by him the present session. That now is a dead issue, and any attempt to revive it can look to, nor have for its object, no other end than self-promotion at the sacrifice of the best interests of the common good.

As I live, fellow citizens, I will dissemble nothing; I have not, nor do I now entertain any political opinion which I fear to avow. I discountenance fanaticism and sectionalism wherever found, whether at the North or at the South. Neither the

Black Republican of the North nor the Sectional Democrat of the South find any sympathy with me. Nor have I any sympathy whatever with any Emancipation movement here. And I denounce all men and all papers who charge me with consorting and co-operating with the friends of Emancipationism in Missouri or elsewhere, as base calumniators and slanderers. I was born in a slave State, educated in pro-slavery sentiments, have always been a slaveholder, and to-day have five times more interest in slaves than all of the slandering Anti-Benton editors in the State of Missouri.

Fellow citizens, if I should be elected as your Representative, it will be my highest ambition and proudest glory to pursue that policy that will best promote the interest of my constituents and this great country. I shall oppose with "a will of iron" the worse than European extravagance of this Administration. I shall do all that in me lies to revive the interests and just claims of our own Central route for a railroad to the Pacific,—a measure that was so dear to, and ably and eloquently advocated by that great spirit, Thomas H. Benton. I shall co-operate most cheerfully in any and every laudable attempt to crush out every feeling and suppress every discussion the tendency of which is to alienate one portion of this Union from another. With the promise to visit as many counties as I possibly can, and give my views upon any and all questions that may concern the voters of this district,

I am, your most obedient servant,
G. R. Smith.

The issue was now squarely made. Three times before General Smith had tried to secure the party nomination, and each time this or that influence had snatched it from his grasp. Now he appealed to the people direct, and upon their decision was to hang his chance of playing a part on the larger fields of politics.

What the result would have been had his card been issued earlier, is uncertain; as it was, barely three weeks remained before the polling of votes. This interval he used with his customary energy in canvassing the district. The progress of the fight is indicated in two letters written by J. F. Philips, then a young lawyer of Georgetown, to General Smith while the latter was on his canvass. Both are undated, but they were evidently written late in July. "A powerful reaction," writes Mr. Philips in the first, "is going on here. Betting is strong. Your letters nearly all reached me too late for good. I am the only man that's fighting very strong for you here. You will get a good vote in Pettis." In the second, rather fuller details are given.

> I am just in receipt of your missive from Knob Noster, and hasten to drop you a line at Cole Camp. I am exceedingly gratified to learn of your good cheer and success, but mortified to hear of the delinquency of your appointments and circulars. It is too late, I fear, now for them to reach the upper counties. The unusual haste of your canvass is greatly to be regretted. Had you come out one month sooner, or were the election off three weeks, your success would be sure. A great revolution is manifest here. I am persuaded that Woodson's strong vote will be in Pettis and Cooper. The attachment of some of his new-made political friends even here is weakening some. Captain Montgomery had hundreds of copies of your Lexington speech

> struck off and scattered fast and far. It is doing you noble service. Its sentiments commend themselves to every fair-minded and patriotic heart. ——, the vile hypocrite and slanderer, is doing his wonted dirty work in this fight. Assassin as he is, as soon as your back was turned he attempts to stab you by slyly reading a letter he got from Frank Blair, in which Frank says: "Tell Smith to hump himself; now is the time for us." He shows that letter and makes the impression that he recently received it, when in fact he received it more than a year ago, when Rollins and Stewart were running for Governor. I wish you was here to lash him. Forbes is taking no active part against you; he knows that danger lurks there. . . . Vest is up here, and seeks, I think, an opportunity of making a speech for Sam Woodson. If he makes one, I am in readiness to give him a reply that will cool his political ardor.

As it turned out, General Smith was able to go over only half of the district. The fight was a triangular one, John W. Reid having been nominated by the Democrats against both Smith and Woodson. The election took place early in August, and in a light vote Smith was defeated and Woodson elected.

Thus again General Smith's political ambitions were brought to naught. And again, with a persistence worthy of the highest respect, the task was resumed of consolidating heterogeneous elements of opposition on a basis of compromise and conciliation. The preservation of the Union was to these men the chief immediate object of political action;

and the middle course which they took was the only road, in their view, to that end.

Already these words had been uttered: "A house divided against itself can not stand. I believe this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free." But in a slaveholding State such doctrine could have few followers.

CHAPTER XI

FOUNDING OF SEDALIA: EVE OF THE WAR

(1856—1861)

Railroad affairs—Dissatisfaction with the management of the Pacific road—Attempt to elect General Smith its president—Georgetown life—The road threatens its prosperity—Ineffectual efforts of General Smith—Plans the foundation of a new town—Location of a depot—The first months of the town—The name Sedalia—Completion of the Pacific road to it—Death of Mrs. Smith—Tributes to her memory—Political views, 1858-60—Supports Bell and Everett—As to the liberation of his slaves.

The years 1856-58, full as they were for General Smith of political labors and anxiety, were also years of active business life. His farm at Georgetown required constant attention and supervision; and to affairs of the Pacific road he gave much of his time. In these years also the plans were conceived and the foundations laid for the city of Sedalia, the chief pride of his life and his most fitting monument.

The management of the Missouri railroads in these earlier years seems not to have been satisfactory. Doubtless the expectations of the people were too roseate, and they did not sufficiently take into account the difficulties of financing and constructing such enterprises, especially in the infancy of railway management. They expected miracles in rapid construction; and in these they were encouraged, ignorantly it may be, by the officers of the roads. When the miracles failed of performance the people murmured. They saw million after million voted in State credit, and call after call made upon private and county subscriptions, while the roads, in their view, made no commensurate progress. "The people," wrote one of General Smith's correspondents from Jackson county, "have got it into their heads that the [Pacific] road will never be built west of Jefferson, and they are unwilling to have their money expended down there where they won't be benefited."

It would have been impossible for the ablest and most painstaking set of officials to have avoided creating dissatisfaction in some quarter. Even with all due allowance, much legitimate cause for dissatisfaction with the management of the roads remained. Twenty-four millions of bonds were voted to the roads as loans by the State in the course of eight years, and upon this sum the roads engaged to pay the interest. One only of the roads, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, lived up to its agreement; and for the entire sum upon which default was made, amounting in the aggregate to some twenty million dollars, the State became bound. This was a heavy load for the people to carry, especially when supplemented by the burden of the war; but the prosperity which ultimately enabled the State to manage both burdens, was chiefly due to the development which the railroads gave to it.

The Pacific road shared in the reaction of dissatisfaction caused by this mismanagement. General Smith was for a number of years one of the Directors of the road, but this did not prevent his sharing in the dissatisfaction. The feeling that prevailed west of Jefferson City, at this time, is indicated by a letter from Thomas L. Price, dated March 8, 1858:

> What is the move with the Pacific Railroad Company? They tell me they are going to stop the road at Round Hill [now Tipton] to remain there for considerable time. I can't see the necessity for that; is there not something else at work? My opinion is that McPherson and Miller [the President and Chief Engineer] are at work to accomplish another object, even if it is at the expense of the wishes of the people west. I make these suggestions for your reflection, without saying more. I may be mistaken, but I think not. Would it not be well for you and other friends to be at the election the 29th inst., and in fact to be there several days before? Unless prompt action is had, you will not see the road go any further west than Round Hill for some time. A word to the wise is sufficient.

General Smith's friends had already urged him, the foremost champion of the road in Central Missouri, as a candidate for its presidency. Such offices were largely political at this time; and his experience with business ventures, and his services to the road, constituted strong claims on the practical side, while his downright honesty was such that there was no fear of trickery or ulterior purpose if he was elected. His candidacy received the cordial support of able and far-seeing men, like Rollins and Blair. "Some ten days ago," wrote the former in his letter of February 20, 1858, "I received a letter from a number of gentlemen in your neighborhood, urging your name warmly for the presidency of the Pacific road. I need not assure you how warmly this suggestion met my approbation; and whatever I can do will be done to promote this object. And I only have to regret that I am not in a position to exert an influence that would place it beyond a doubt. I have already written to St. Louis upon this subject, and beg of you to make to me free suggestions as to what I ought or can do to promote your success." To the same effect was Blair's letter of March 6. "In regard to the Pacific railroad Directory," he wrote, "I will, as you request, write to Mr. Wyman, and I have no doubt that he will co-operate with you in that election." The Directors, thirteen in number, were elected annually on the last Monday in March in stockholders' meeting; and the Directors then chose from among their number one to act as President. When the meeting of stockholders was held this year, General Smith was again chosen to the Directory; but the hopes which his friends entertained of securing his election to the higher post, were disappointed.

As the building of the railroad progressed, it exerted its influence, immediate and prospective, on the social life of the community. Of this subject Mrs. M. E. Smith writes:

> The preliminaries for the building of the road necessitated the bringing of engineers from the Eastern cities; and our father's interest and enthusiasm brought him into pleasant relations with them, both in the legislature and in St. Louis, socially and otherwise. It became a delightful privilege, when they were sojourning in the region of Georgetown, to entertain them at our house. They were gentlemen of culture and refinement. They often brought their wives with them, and would visit us for two or three weeks at a time. They seemed to appreciate our hospitality, and we certainly did their society. We revelled in dreams of the future—dreams which we have now realized—when we should see the same culture brought into our own land, and we could furnish our own engineers, our own teachers, and so on,—when ours should be a land of free schools; a land wholly free from negro slavery; a land progressing toward the millennium; a land also of freedom for women.

In another place she writes of their first trip on the advancing railroad:

> When the trains had first reached Washington (Mo.), our father was so anxious to enjoy to its fullest extent the benefits and pleasure that were to be derived from the railroad, that on one of his trips he invited our mother, my sister, and myself to go with him in a carriage over the Osage hills to Washington, so that we could ride from there on a train to St. Louis. The trip was fraught with many adventures, owing to the primitive settle-

ments and bad roads at that time; but the short journey on the cars amply repaid us for all our privations during the three days' carriage ride. The last night before reaching Washington we spent in a one-room cabin containing three beds, with a big open fire-place, and a feeble flicker of light from an iron lard-lamp stuck in the wall over the fire-place. There were the husband and wife, and the old mother-in-law who sat in one corner on a pallet, and five or six grown sons and daughters,—all to be accommodated in that one room. We had traveled six or eight miles after night to reach this house, refusing the hospitality of two or three places that we had passed where the hogs and cows were in pens at the front door, and the landlady was clad in homespun and wooden shoes, and the smell of onions was strong in the road, coming from the preparation of the evening meal. We were tired and hungry, but went on by the dim light of the moon, seeking this "American" house, where we hoped to find cleanliness and appetizing food. And this was the result!

They asked us what we would have for supper, and we smothered our hunger and answered, "Nothing." We sat down about the fire, with the one hope of somehow or somewhere closing our eyes in the forgetfulness of sleep. It is needless to say that we did not make an elaborate toilet before going to bed. My sister begged the privilege of sleeping behind, promising to stay awake all night and watch over me in my dangerous location. I jokingly said: "Whichever gets in first shall get behind;" but I courageously indulged her whim. Spreading our wraps and shawls over us and not removing any of our garments, we slept the sleep of the righteous; and next morning we awoke with the sun blazing in on us through the cracks in the wall. Our father very modestly asked for boiled eggs and baked potatoes for breakfast, after which frugal meal we began our Sabbath-day's journey to the much desired goal. About eleven o'clock our eyes were greeted by the sight of a farmhouse, cool and sweet in its shady nook, its doors wide open, and rag carpets telling their story of civilization and comfort. The father and mother of the household were at church, but a rosy-cheeked lass, who seemed beautiful to us by contrast with our hosts of the night before, responded in the affirmative to our request for dinner; and the meal which she served, it has always seemed to us, was fit for the gods.

That night we reached Washington, and the next day the wonderful ride was ours. We were actually beginning to see and realize the fruition of our father's hopes of having the steam-cars in Missouri. This repaid us for all our trouble.

These were halcyon days for the General's family, made doubly bright in the retrospect by contrast with suffering and sorrow. "Georgetown at that time," writes Mrs. Smith, "was smiling in the blessed sunshine of God's love, and to us it was the dearest spot on earth." Their grandfather Thomson was one of the original founders of the place, which had become a flourishing little town of some fifteen hundred inhabitants. They had a large farm and a comfortable brick house, which had replaced the cabin in which they had at first dwelt, and desirable people had begun to pour in from Kentucky, affording them social opportunities and making Georgetown a pleasant place of residence.

Nevertheless, as work advanced on the road, and the surveys approached finality, it was apparent to General Smith that, unless a strenuous effort was made, Georgetown was doomed. The line of the road passed three miles south of the town. To his clear vision it was evident that, unless the officers of the Company could be prevailed upon to bring the road to the town, the latter would surely decay, and a new and more thriving community spring up at the depot point.

These convictions he voiced in no uncertain prophecies; and with all his power he sought to move the people, in private and in public meetings, to make the sacrifices needed to bring the road to their doors. "Open your eyes and see the friend that is coming to aid you; hold out your hands and welcome it; give of your means to quicken its movements toward you," he is represented by a historian of Sedalia as saying. At one of the last railroad meetings held in the court house at Georgetown, he said that, unless they took immediate steps to prevent it, they would live to see the day when "the bats and the owls would make their home in the court house, while a flourishing town would be growing at their suburbs."[1] But the people were blind, or would not see. "Contented and happy," writes Mrs. Smith, "they looked upon his ideas as Utopian. They laughed at him and went on with their improvements, even beginning to macadamize the streets—a thing which had never been done before—and erect a stone drug-store; and in various

[1] *History of Pettis County* (1882), p. 402.

ways they manifested their confidence in the dear old town. Our father found it impossible to convince them of what was so palpable to him, and was compelled to put into execution alone the ideas that burned within him."

Failing to bring the road to the town, his plan was to take the town to the road. On the line surveyed were certain lands, owned in part by Absalom McVey, and in part by his minor heirs by a deceased wife. Realizing that these must in any event increase in value, and that in case a town were located upon them they would increase a thousand-fold, General Smith sought to interest his friends in their purchase. There was no difficulty with the vendor; the only trouble was to raise the funds. "The old system of credit," writes Mrs. Smith, "prevailed in those times to such an extent that merchants' and grocers' bills and all expenses of the family were settled up only once a year, and sometimes not so often. The consequence was, everybody was in debt. Our father was not an exception." He had not the means at hand, and his immediate neighbors either could not or would not go into the venture with him. The country was then in the excitement of overtrading which within a few months brought on the panic of 1857, and money was hard to get even at high rates of interest. After many attempts, General Smith succeeded in negotiating a loan from Mr. Fayette McMullen of $5,000, on the basis of six per cent. interest and one-half of the profits. With this money and what he himself possessed, he purchased from McVey, on February 18, 1856, 337 acres of land, at the rate of $13 an acre. On March 4th he added to this purchase 166 acres belonging to McVey's minor heirs, which the latter, as their guardian and curator, on proper authorization of the county court, and after due appraisal, sold to him at private sale. Out of this sale, in time, grew a troublesome lawsuit, which will be described later; it is only necessary to point out here that the lands were appraised at only $1,248.75, and General Smith paid for them $2,140.46, or a fraction less per acre than the price paid for the lands included in the former sale.

General Smith next proceeded energetically to secure the location of a depot on the tract. Many obstacles were met with before the matter was settled. As early as February 22, 1858, he thought he had secured his object; but it was only on March 2, 1859, after a grant to the road for ninety-nine years of every fourth lot in twenty-six blocks,—being all that part of the original plat of the town lying north of its right of way,—that the Company definitely agreed to locate and permanently maintain a depot on the town site. The first plat of the town, under the name of "Sedville," comprising a part of the above purchases, was acknowledged and filed for record by G. R. Smith on November 30, 1857; on October 16, 1860, a second plat, including another portion of the land, was filed and recorded. On March 15, 1858, an undivided one-fourth interest in the whole tract of 505 acres was sold by General Smith to

Dr. W. L. Felix. This partnership continued until March 2 of the next year, the date upon which the deed to the Pacific road was executed. On that day Dr. Felix, not being in sympathy with the measures of his partner, and losing faith in the enterprise, sold his one-fourth interest to Mr. D. W. Bouldin. Dr. Felix afterwards bought land at Farmer City, thinking that the most favorable location for a new town.

The surveys completed, General Smith advertised a sale of lots in his "city," where nothing was to be seen but tall prairie grass. This action occasioned astonishment, not unmixed with ridicule, on the part of the contented inhabitants of Georgetown and vicinity.

> They were moving on in the even tenor of their way [writes Mrs. M. E. Smith], visiting their neighbors, making additions to their homes, attending their little church meetings and sabbath schools, while his busy brain was active day and night and his great tireless form was almost always in the saddle, ever on the alert to work out his new and inspiring dream. His railroad and political affairs led him frequently into the surrounding towns and neighborhoods, and threw him among the people. The new town was his constant theme; but the people laughed and ridiculed, and he, in jocular mood, would retort happily and sarcastically, and push on his enterprise. Boonville had been our resort for merchandise, for the education of our young ladies, and for all the higher social functions. In that town especially he had familiar friends with whom the jests ran high. He predicted, in his own inim-

itable way, the downfall of their town and their turning to us for all these good things, as we had for so many years turned to them. They called him crazy, and the jests went on and on.

Finally, the day came for the first public sale of lots (September 4, 1858), and out of amusement and curiosity the people flocked to the prairie town. The bidding began, and some lots were sold; but sold at prices that now seem incredibly low. Seventy-five and fifty dollars were considered good prices for lots that would now bring ten, fifteen, and twenty thousand dollars. Another sale was announced for the near future (October 20), and at this the bidding was more spirited than at the first. By the people of Georgtown his warnings even yet were unheeded; and when he offered his own home there, "The Academy," for sale, they were astonished beyond measure. An enterprising Kentuckian became the purchaser, even in the face of our father's assertion that the decline of Georgetown was the cause of his selling.

To help on the growth of the new town he bought a tract of timber-land on Flat creek, about three miles from the site of the town, and erected a sawmill to saw lumber for building operations. The first output of this mill was used for building his own house. My mother and sister, in full sympathy with him, moved into the little cottage in May, 1859. I was married just when we left Georgetown, and made my new home in Saline county. The isolated life of the prairie was a contrast for my mother and sister from the old-time busy social life of Georgetown; but they enjoyed it no less than our father did. The haste to begin the new town was so great that they moved to the cottage before fences—then very necessary—were built, and before outhouses (except the smoke-house, which was temporarily occupied by the negroes) were erected. But they did not mind the primitive life, and were happy in dreams of the future, enjoying the jokes and attempted fun at their expense from the old Georgetown people and the Heath's creek settlers; for the neighborhood of Flat creek, where the new town was located, was not so pretentious socially. The rich Kentuckians of Heath's creek opposed Sedville, because if it materialized it would take the county seat a few miles farther from them. When our family would visit Georgetown they were met with the salutation, "How are you, Flat creek?" They enjoyed these jokes, because their faith was such that they thought the joke would soon be the other way. Our father would say laughingly to the Georgetown people, "You will all soon pull down your houses and move them out to the new town."

The name of the new town was quite a puzzle, and gave our family great pleasure in its selection. Our father and mother decided to name it for my sister, laughingly saying to me, "Bet, we once named a flat-boat for you, and we will name the town for your sister." Her pet name was "Sed," so they called the town "Sedville." Often my sister and I would accompany our father on his business trips to St. Louis in the interest of the Pacific railroad. There our father had delightful friends, and among them was Mr. Josiah Dent. He became very much interested in the new town and in its name. The "ville" was decidedly objectionable, as it did not comport with the large and flourishing city of his dreams. Mr. Dent suggested the termination "alia" in its place, and this so delighted him that it was at once accepted. Since then the town has been called Sedalia.

The new mill meanwhile was busy helping to build up the town, all the lumber being sawed from the native trees. Our own house was speedily enlarged, and cabins built for the negroes. But people from the Eastern States, together with a few from Missouri, came pouring in so rapidly that the capacity of our house, even with its enlarged proportions, was not enough to accommodate those who came to buy lots. We had to enlarge again to take in the strangers, until they could erect temporary shanties in which to house themselves while building for their families. Georgetown people were still happy, improving their town and laughing at us. In a few months I came back from Saline, and became one of the prairie family.

Our little cottage was a marvel of sweetness, sanctity, and industry. The former environment of our lives, daily personal contact with neighbors and friends, the routine duties of a settled home, were given up for this apparently wild enterprise of locating in the prairie, with only a dream of the oncoming city. The broad prairie stretched itself out to the horizon on all sides, without shrub or tree; and all that summer the sun poured its torrid rays unobstructedly upon us. Our father labored and toiled in his department; and our mother and my sister would take the negro boys that were unemployed, with the carriage and horses, to Flat creek, where they would pull up, and dig up out of the ground, little sprouts of maple, elm, and other trees, and bring them home to plant in the yard. As the season was already far advanced, they would protect the little sprouts by putting chairs and driving down sticks around them, over which were spread sheets and blankets to protect them from the heat. At night they were disrobed of their covering and carefully watered; and the same process was repeated day after day throughout the summer. When the autumn came on, the little trees were ready for stronger rooting and this constant care was relaxed. A large inclosure had now been made for the garden; and they again went to the woods in the autumn, bringing this time walnut, hickory nut, persimmon, plum, and crab-apple trees; these they planted in the garden for future orchards.

In the fall the cattle that had been transferred from Georgetown had been accommodated in temporary inclosures. There were no quarries open yet, and we were so far from everything that our house was still without "underpinning." The hogs often escaped from their pens, and seeking the only available shelter from cold and storm, they would pile themselves up under the house until they would shake the little fabric to its foundation; and their midnight music is more agreeable to remember than it was then to endure. The snow fell mercilessly that winter; and the winds, blowing their wild diapason, were often a prelude to the foot-weary traveler's entrance, in his journey across the bleak prairie, asking food and shelter, and even raiment, which he always found; it flowed from our sweet mother's heart and hand like honey from the honeycomb.

When the following spring opened, we were happy and joyous as the sunshine, at the promise of advancing civilization; and the sound of the hammer and the saw and the hum of progress were a panacea for all our discomforts. A touch of romance was put into the hardest toil, and lifted the eye to the contemplation of pictures beyond the actual and the real, and elevated the soul to beatific vision. Every stroke of the hammer was music, every nail a seal of compact between the imperfect present and that vast illimitable future which no human conception could forecast or bound.

The first house built that year was on the north side of the railroad; and there a little baby was born, who was most appropriately named "Sedalia." Where now is little Sedalia Skinner? Perhaps she is become the mother of future fathers of towns, and of still further progress; a dame of forty years and more: let us hope she is doing credit to her birthplace somewhere in the great hive of humanity. In the following summer our harmonies were disturbed; for then the war of the Rebellion commenced weaving its net and drawing its cords of death so tightly around us that hope began to die.

All this while the railroad was slowly advancing. At every little town east of Sedalia, as it became temporarily the termination of the line, the people fancied that that would be the place for the concentration of the trade of the Southwest, and that it was to become a great city. Stores and houses were built accordingly, only to be torn down and transferred to the next station as the road moved on. The excitement often ran high. Five miles east of Sedalia, where Dr. W. L. Felix had hoped to found a town, the tracks were torn up in a vain attempt to hinder the further progress of the road. This brings us to January, 1861. The war of the Rebellion was now coming upon us, and more serious things than railroads began to occupy the attention of the people.

The year 1861 was a somber one for General Smith. In the hostile clash of arms he saw his most cherished political principles and his fondest material hopes placed at once in jeopardy. The preservation of the Union of the States, the speedy completion of the Pacific road, the building up of his new city,—were all put to hazard, with the chances at least even against a favorable result. To these perplexities and anxieties there was added severe family affliction and grievous sorrow.

> All this while [writes Mrs. Smith, in continuation of her narrative] our blessed mother was watching and waiting to see the outcome of her husband's prophecy, and re-creating in her new home the old-time charm of the home we had left. In the midst of her enthusiastic labors she was taken with pneumonia; and on the 22d of April,—eight days after the fall of Fort Sumter, and just as the clarion blast of the locomotive whistle announced the departure of the morning train,—the White Angel came into our little home and claimed her spirit. Her work was finished, and we laid her away; while we who remained, with saddened hearts, took up again the burden of labor for the future. It was well for us, perhaps, that total abandonment to grief was not possible, and that our sorrow was sanctified and perhaps mitigated by the overwhelming and rapidly changing events of our country's history. In the consternation which these aroused within us, we were sometimes almost glad that the sweet little mother had been removed from the perils of the hour.
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> In less than three months my own bright-eyed little boy followed her; and in our home, now doubly darkened, we three,—my father, my sister, and myself,—were left alone. . . . But we must shut our personal darkness and scatter only sunshine from the leaves of this book.

The death of his wife touched General Smith in the tenderest depths of his nature. The affliction was not one from which he easily recovered. Fifteen years later, in speaking of these events, he said: "She is as present with me now as when she was living. If it had not been for her, I should not have been worth anything, either morally or financially. She had more wisdom than any woman I ever knew."

Her children, looking back through the two-score years that have intervened since her death, bear witness to her wisdom and goodness. Mrs. Cotton writes:

> I remember her in my childhood's early days as one I could not easily get around; a woman keen, vigilant, and austere in the management of her household and her children; a mother tender and loving, kind and sagacious; a wife faithful and true; strict in discipline and holding wisely the reins of power.
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> As a neighbor she was kind and obliging, but she never fell into that familiarity that breeds contempt. Refusing to borrow under almost any circumstances, she held the esteem and love of her next-door neighbor; scorning gossip, she kept largely at home, feeling that her hands were full in training her children and servants.
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> Her children, she had determined, should not be victims to the evils of slavery as she felt she had been; and to this end she bent her daily efforts. Not wishing us to be idle, she found something for us to do in learning to knit, to sew, to wind yarn (cotton especially, as in those days the negroes wove much of the cloth they wore), and a thousand other domestic duties,—many times inventing them just to keep us busy. Once when she was making us work and wait on ourselves, while a slave stood idly

MRS. GEORGE R. SMITH
Aged Forty-nine

by, a sister-in-law remonstrated with her, saying: "Sister Melita, you will ruin that negro." But our mother pleasantly replied: "Well, I had rather ruin the negro than ruin my children." I remember one experience in winding yarn that tried my impatient soul most severely. I had permitted it to tangle, and I think my mother kept me at that "hank" for almost a week. I have forgotten just how long it was; but I know that no snarl of yarn or silk now appals me, for I feel equal to the task. Whether this discipline was wise or not, I dare not say in the multitude of latter-day opinions; but I am sure it taught me patience.

I was a wayward child, and thought then that our mother was giving us more work than was necessary. I once tried to argue with her, and asked for a reason. She said she wished us to love work; and I, in my cause, most earnestly replied: "Well, if that is what you want, mother, you can never, never, never make me love it!" She of course smiled, and pursued the even tenor of her way, nothing daunted in her courage. Time has proved that my mother knew best, and I thank her to-day for what then chafed my idle spirit and curbed my youthful folly.

When we rebelled we were sure of a time of retribution. She never would strike us hastily with her hand, but would make the punishment so delicate and circumstantial that the final administration, though a trifle, was to our child hearts very, very bad. She would send for a switch by one of the servants, and thus give us a time of anticipation and horror. The capital offense was going outside our large door-yard to play. Our mother kept us in strict surveillance and held us within its limits, except by special permission when we had good company.

I remember her as somewhat fond of dress, though compared to my aunt Elvira, for whom I was named, and who dressed beautifully, she was very plain in costume. But in my love of colors I remember her in pink and white and blue and white ginghams, in olive green in winter, and in white in summer. She did not like black, and would never wear it, even as mourning for the nearest and dearest of her family. She thought gladness and brightness the important thing, and her cheerfulness was a great feature in her life. She would keep us busy in some way during the day, and when twilight came she would romp and play with us. These seasons of recreation were such bright spots in the daily life that they still give special charm for me to the gloaming.

In the period that elapsed between General Smith's defeat for Congress in August, 1858, and the beginning of the war in April, 1861, his political opinions were in a transition state. He in common with Rollins and others was coming to despair of the attempt to build up a compromise party to avert the danger of a sectional struggle between North and South. The conflict, it was becoming apparent, was "irrepressible." They must choose between the absolute dominance of the pro-slavery Democracy, and some party which could center in itself the Northern strength. But that party could only be the reviled Republican party; and its success must lead to secession, and secession to war. It was nothing strange to find Southern Union men, before the irrevocable cast of the die, hesitating between two opinions.

At the beginning of the period it was the necessity of consolidating the opposition strength that was most evident. September 9, 1858, Rollins wrote:

> I watched your movements last summer with a great deal of interest. The idea of a third party is preposterous now. We have to meet the question, and we had as well do it at once. If there must be a sectional fight, we can at least say it has not been provoked by us, or by our party. The signs look encouraging for a national union of the opposition. If this is effected, our triumph in 1860 will be easy.
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> The treason of Anderson and Woodson has greatly damaged us in Missouri; so much so that I fear the opposition can not be consolidated here. We must, however, not give it up; we must continue to make an earnest effort to accomplish a thorough union for the great trial of 1860.

In these sentiments it is probable that General Smith concurred. His opposition to sectionalism and his love of the Union were fundamental; but so too was his hatred of the ignorance, the arrogance, the duplicity, and the continual aggression of the slave-barons of the Democratic party. He hated that party with a stalwart hatred; but it was a hatred without malice or personal rancor. His own experience with politics in recent years had taught him the futility of half-way measures; his own strong feelings must have inclined him to any measures that promised success; but the habits of a life-time, the influence of environment, and the prejudices founded on perverse report and maligning rumor, caused him to hesitate to become that most despicable of beings in Southern eyes, a "Black Republican."

Hence arose a period of political indecision, when old instincts and feelings were slowly dying, new habits of thought were arising, and throughout all was the anxious waiting on the turn of the political wheel. He and his friends had tried their utmost and failed; now they waited,—in silence, for the most part,—to see the outcome. They formed no definite plans, and had but little heart for political correspondence. General Smith was engrossed with far-reaching schemes of material betterment, and the griefs of personal bereavement. In these facts, and in the disorder attendant upon establishing a new home, is to be found the explanation of the almost total lack of political correspondence in the two years immediately preceding the war.

What part to play in the election of 1860, when at last parties and candidates arrayed themselves, was necessarily a matter of anxious thought to General Smith. Breckinridge, the candidate of the ultra pro-slavery Democracy, was out of the question. Douglas, in spite of his ringing declarations that he would "do all in [his] power to aid the government of the United States in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance to them, come from what quarter it might," was distrusted. Lincoln, if not entirely, in Mr. Bagehot's language, "Statesman X" (an unknown quantity), was feared as the leader of a fanatic and sectional party. After a period of long and careful deliberation, General Smith determined to support Bell of Tennessee, and Everett of Massachusetts,—the nominees of the old-line Whigs and Americans under the name of the Constitutional Union party,—whose platform was, "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." This remedy for the national ills may have been, in Mr. Rhodes' metaphor, a plaster where cauterization rather was needed; but the candidates certainly were "men of honesty and experience," and the nominations and platform approved themselves to thousands of patriotic and conservative citizens, North and South. In spite of many pressing and exacting business affairs connected with the founding of the new town, General Smith, as usual, took an active part in the campaign, and delivered at least one speech for Bell and Everett. This was at Otterville, then the terminus of the Pacific road. According to Mr. George S. Grover,—the son of General Smith's old friend and collaborer in political and railroad affairs, who was at that time clerk in the Otterville depot,—the speech was "soul-stirring" and was delivered "from the depot platform to a large crowd. . . In response to a question as to his position on the slavery question, he said that slavery was a blight and a curse to a nation, which would sooner or later have to be destroyed in order to save the Union; and when asked if he was not a slaveholder himself, promptly replied that he had been, having inherited them; but that he had voluntarily emancipated them, and never intended to own another human being. This statement," concludes Mr. Grover, "made a powerful impression on me, and went far towards confirming anti-slavery opinions already formed."

Mr. Grover's recollection must be at fault in representing General Smith as saying, in 1860, that he had already emancipated his slaves. "Our father," writes Mrs. Smith, "liberated his slaves in this way. When Fort Sumter was fired upon, and war was actually upon us, he explained the situation to our slaves, told them they would be free, and told them they could do as they pleased *now*. They were delighted of course. The boys left us that summer, some hiring themselves to officers of the Government as body-servants. The women stayed perhaps a year later, doing as they pleased."

In Pettis county Lincoln received only two votes; the Douglas Democrats carrying the day, with the Constitutional Union party second. As Pettis county went, in this case, so went the State. Of the 165,000 votes cast in Missouri, the bulk was almost equally divided (58,801 to 58,372) between the Douglas and Bell-Everett tickets; Breckinridge and Lincoln received 31,317 and 17,028 votes respectively. General Smith's own vote is doubtful. His daughters are agreed that he was too advanced to go enthusiastically for Bell and Everett. One thinks he did not vote at all, the other is uncertain. As the ballot had now superseded *viva voce* voting in Pettis county, there is a bare possibility that one of the two votes cast for Lincoln may have represented the eleventh hour conversion of General Smith to his cause. At all events his conversion to Republicanism,—and that of the most radical type,—was not far distant.

CHAPTER XII

THE CIVIL WAR IN MISSOURI

(1861—1865)

Character of the war in Missouri—Party positions on slavery and Union—Gratz Brown's speech on emancipation, 1857—Governor Stewart's address, and Governor Jackson's inaugural, 1861—The Missouri Convention votes against secession—Refusal of Governor Jackson to abide by its decision—The war begun—General Smith's attitude—Appointed Adjutant-General after Jackson's expulsion—Letters of J. F. Philips and T. T. Crittenden—Resigns—Financial difficulties—Letters to his daughters, 1862—Unsuccessful candidacy for the legislature, 1862—Radicals and Conservatives—Unsatisfactory action of the latter on the slavery question—The Radical or "Charcoal" convention of 1863—Member of the Radical embassy to President Lincoln—The latter's attitude—Political victory of the Radicals, 1864—In the State Senate, 1864-5—His prominence in the Radical party—Speech advocating the vacation of State offices held by disloyal persons—The final abolition of slavery by the Convention, 1865—Accepts office of Assistant United States Assessor, and his seat in Senate vacated—Governor Fletcher's summary of his course.

In no State was the preliminary contest between the advocates of Union and Secession, in the winter and spring of 1860-61, more warmly waged than in Missouri; and in none did the subsequent struggle more clearly partake of the character of a civil war. There neighbor was often literally arrayed against neighbor, brother against brother. Few States can show an equal proportion of troops regularly enrolled, on the one side and the other; while over and above the destruction of property and of life by the regular forces of Union and Confederacy, were the secret killing and wanton devastation inflicted by lurking Confederate "bushwhackers" and irresponsible Federal "jayhawkers." "We question whether the people of any portion of the Union, not even excepting the loyal inhabitants of East Tennessee," said the *Missouri Democrat*, February 21, 1865, "have endured as much in the maintenance of their principles as the loyal men and women of Southwestern Missouri. They have at no time been secure —have been allowed no rest since the war began— have almost constantly been engaged in meeting and repelling, or at least opposing, rebel raids from Arkansas and the Indian Territory. To their infinite credit must it be said that their exposure and hardships have at no time produced the least relaxation in their fidelity, or caused them to lose heart in the contest. No more loyal and determined people can anywhere be found to-day, plundered and impoverished as they have been, than in Southwestern Missouri." One result of the trial and suffering to which the loyal element of the State was subjected, was the deepening of political animosities. In no State were the unconditional Union men wrought up to a higher pitch of bitterness against the lukewarm adherents of their cause; and in none was more dissatisfaction felt and expressed with what was thought to be the too cautious and conservative policy of President Lincoln.

Despite the existence of a strong and intolerant pro-slavery sentiment in the State, as shown in the Kansas troubles, despite, too, the social and family ties which bound her people to the South, Missouri was by geographical position and economic interests destined to take her place in the list of non-slaveholding commonwealths. With the growth of population westward and the development of Missouri's natural resources, the cause of Slavery steadily declined, and that of Freedom rose in the scale. In 1857, a St. Louis paper had styled the existence of an emancipation party in the State "an impossibility, an impertinence, a nuisance, and a humbug,"[1] but this was mere whistling to keep up one's courage. Such a party, or at least the elements out of which it was to be formed, actually did exist, and was outspoken in its utterances. "Every emigrant from the East or Europe," said the *Missouri Democrat* editorially, in reply to the foregoing assertions, "every mile of railroad constructed in the State, and every mine opened, is the auxiliary of that party. It will summon its recruits from the factory, the work-shop, and the field; and so far from being a political and economic blunder . . it is the organization which of all others conforms most strictly to the principles of political and economic science."

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[1] St. Louis *Intelligencer*, quoted by the *Missouri Democrat*, 27 February, 1857.

The occasion for the foregoing utterances was the speech on emancipation delivered by B. Gratz Brown in the Missouri House of Representatives, alluded to in his letter to General Smith, of March 3, 1857 (see p. 259). The speech was called forth by the introduction in the House of a Senate joint resolution, declaring that "the emancipation of the slaves held as property in this State would be not only impracticable, but that any movement having such an object in view would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise, and unjust, and should in the opinion of this General Assembly be discountenanced by the people of the State." The introduction of this resolution, Brown declared, removed all restraints upon the opponents of slavery from discussing the subject, and "made emancipation henceforth and forever an open question."

Slavery would be abolished, he continued, not as an act of humanity to the slave, but out of regard for the free white laborer. "It will be here, as elsewhere, a conflict of race; and I do say that the increase of free white population, together with the white emigration from the other States coming to Missouri will, whenever and wherever the labor of the white man meets the labor of the slave, beside the same plowshare, in the same harvest field, face to face, not only be entitled to demand, but will receive, the preference; and that the labor of the white man will force the labor of the slave to give place and take itself off." By reference to statistics he showed that "the extinction of slavery as a system in our midst is at this moment in the course of rapid accomplishment." "Missouri must, ere long, from the operation of natural causes, rid herself of the institution. In all our domestic relations, as well as in our relations as a State of this confederacy, Missouri would be benefitted by the liberation and riddance of every slave within her borders." He warned his fellow Representatives that while they were "higgling . . for the endorsement of an effete system of slavery, the empire of the world" was gliding from their grasp, and passing to the free States on their borders. "Missouri," he added, "has nothing in common with the South, either in national or home concerns. Nor does she owe any debt of gratitude" to that section.[1]

With these views Blair and other leaders of the Benton Democracy fully concurred. In St. Louis and vicinity, where the population was largely German, the anti-slavery sentiment was pronounced; it was there that the Republican party showed its chief strength in the election of 1860. Blair, by that date, was acting in full accord with the latter party, and is credited with originating the "Wide Awakes," which played so important a part in the Lincoln campaign. When it became evident that the South would not abide by the decision of the election, Blair threw himself energetically into the work of consolidating adherents of Lincoln, Bell, and Douglas, into one Unconditional Union party whose object was to resist the intrigues of the Secessionists, —by political action preferably, by force if need were.

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[1] The speech is given in full in the *Missouri Democrat*, February —, 1857.

The number of the Unconditional Union men was small at first; but their leaders hoped that enough Conditional Union men might be won over to their side, when the crisis came, to carry the day. The attitude assumed by the latter may be seen in the speech which Governor Stewart, himself a Northern man by birth, addressed to the General Assembly of the State, at the opening of its session, December 31, 1860:

> Missouri loves the Union while it is the protector of equal rights, but will despise it as the instrument of wrong. She came into the Union upon a compromise, and is willing to abide by a fair compromise still; not such ephemeral contracts as are enacted by Congress to-day, and repealed to-morrow; but a compromise, assuring all the just rights of the States, and agreed to in solemn Convention of all the parties interested. . .
>
> As matters are at present, Missouri will stand by her lot, and hold to the Union as long as it is worth an effort to preserve it. So long as there is hope of success she will seek for justice within the Union. She can not be frightened from her propriety by the past unfriendly legislation of the North, nor be dragooned into secession by the extreme South. If those who should be our friends and allies, undertake to render our property worthless by a system of prohibitory laws, or by reopening the slave-trade

in opposition to the moral sense of the civilized world, and at the same time reduce us to the position of an humble sentinel to watch over and protect their interests, receiving all of the blows and none of the benefits, Missouri will hesitate long before sanctioning such an arrangement. She will rather take the high position of armed neutrality. She is able to take care of herself, and will be neither forced nor flattered, driven nor coaxed, into a course of action that must end in her own destruction.

If South Carolina and other cotton States persist in secession, she will desire to see them go in peace, with the hope that a short experience at separate governments, and an honorable readjustment of the Federal compact, will induce them to return to their former position. In the meantime, Missouri will hold herself in readiness at any minute to defend her soil from pollution and her property from plunder by fanatics and marauders, come from what quarter they may. The people of Missouri will choose this deliberate, conservative course, both on account of the blessings they have derived from the Union, and the untold and unimagined evils that will come with its dissolution.

. . Whilst I would recommend the adoption of all proper measures and influences to secure the just acknowledgement and protection of our rights, and in the final failure of this a resort to the last painful remedy of separation; yet, regarding as I do the American confederacy as a source of a thousand blessings, pecuniary, social, and moral, and its destruction as fraught with incalculable loss, suffering, and crime, I would here, in my last public official act as Governor of Missouri, record my solemn protest against unwise and hasty action, and my unalterable devotion to the Union so long as it can be made the protector of equal rights.[1]

Representative of the views of the Secessionists was the speech delivered to the Assembly, a few days later, by Claiborne F. Jackson, Stewart's successor in the governorship. He was a Southerner of the pronounced type, and as chairman of the legislative committee on Federal relations in 1849, had given his name to the famous "Jackson resolutions" which split the Democracy on the slavery question.

> The destiny of the slaveholding States of this Union [he now said] is one and the same. . . The identity rather than the similarity of their domestic institutions, their political principles, and party usages; their common origin, pursuits, tastes, manners, and customs; their territorial contiguity and commercial relations,—all contribute to bind them together in one sisterhood. And Missouri will, in my opinion, best consult her own interests, and the interests of the whole country, by a timely declaration of her determination to stand by her sister slaveholding States, in whose wrongs she participates and with whose institutions and peoples she sympathizes.
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> . . If the Northern States have determined to put the slaveholding States on a footing of inequality, by interdicting them from all share in the Territories acquired by the common blood and treasure of all; if they have resolved to admit no more slaveholding States into the Union; and if they mean to persist in nullifying that provision of

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[1] Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*, pp. 14-17.

> the Constitution which secures to the slaveholder his property when found within the limits of States which do not recognize it, or have abolished it; then they have themselves practically abandoned the Union, and will not expect our submission to a government on terms of inequality and subordination.
>
> We hear it suggested in some quarters that the Union is to be maintained by the sword. . . The first drop of blood shed in a war of aggression upon a sovereign State will arouse a spirit which must result in the overthrow of our entire Federal system, and which this generation will never see quelled. . .
>
> I am not without hope that an adjustment alike honorable to both sections may be effected, . . but in the present unfavorable aspect of public affairs it is our duty to prepare for the worst. We can not avoid danger by closing our eyes to it. The magnitude of the interests now in jeopardy demands a prompt but deliberate consideration; and in order that the will of the people may be ascertained and effectuated, a State Convention should, in my view, be immediately called. . . In this way the whole subject will be brought before the people at large, who will determine for themselves what is to be the ultimate action of the State.[1]

Although elected as a Douglas Democrat, Governor Jackson was resolved that Missouri should take her place with the Southern States on the questions pending. With him, in this aim, acted Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, who as president of the Senate lent effective aid, the Speaker of the House, most of the State officers, General Daniel M.

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[1] Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*, pp. 18-25.

Frost, commander of the most efficient body of State militia, and both United States Senators; while a majority of the members of the General Assembly, as their votes and actions showed, were not averse from the movement.

The combined Lincoln, Douglas, and Bell vote showed a decided Union majority in 1860, but these leaders believed that if the question of secession were submitted to the people of Missouri now, an overwhelming majority in favor of disunion and alliance with the Confederate States, would be the result. Accordingly a bill was passed (January 18, 1860) for a Convention "to consider the then existing relations between the government of the United States the people and governments of the different States, and the government and people of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions, as shall appear to them to be demanded."[1] Unfortunately for these plans, the voters of the State, largely as a result of the active work of the St. Louis Committee of Safety (composed of Oliver D. Filley, Francis P. Blair, John How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, and Julius J. Witzig), declared against secession by a majority of 80,000. Not one avowed secessionist was chosen to the Convention; and when that body assembled, on February 28, 1861, it proceeded to pass a series of resolutions of which the most significant were the first—declaring that "at present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union,"—and the fifth—which entreated "as well the Federal government as the seceding States to withhold and stay the arm of military power, and on no pretense whatever bring upon the nation the horrors of civil war."[1]

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[1] See *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1900, pp. 87-103 (Harding, "Missouri Party Struggles in the Civil War Period.")

This unexpected refusal to be led into the Confederate camp disconcerted the less radical of the Secession party. Not so however with Governor Jackson and the more ardent leaders. To the action of the "sovereign" Convention which they themselves had called, George G. Vest, then a member of the State House of Representatives, replied from the floor of that Assembly: "I defy the Convention. They are political cheats, jugglers, and charlatans, who foisted themselves upon the people by ditties and music and striped flags. They do not represent Missouri. They have 'crooked the pliant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning.' As for myself, . . I will never, *never,* NEVER submit to Northern rule and dictation."[2] And when President Lincoln, on the day after the fall of Fort Sumter, issued his call for 75,000 men to repossess the forts and places seized from the Union, Governor Jackson replied with a telegram, saying: "Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and can not be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on any such unholy crusade."[1]

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[1] *Journal and Proceedings of the Convention, etc.,* p. 55-8.

[2] Snead, *The Fight for Missouri,* pp. 93-4.

Already plans had been formed for attacking the United States arsenal at St. Louis and securing the arms stored therein, that troops might be armed to fight against the Union. In accordance with this design, mortars and siege guns were secretly asked from the Confederacy, and a military post, styled "Camp Jackson" in honor of the Governor, was established in the neighborhood of the arsenal. It was with great difficulty that these intrigues were frustrated; and the credit for the achievement belongs chiefly to Blair and the St. Louis Committee of Safety, acting in conjunction with Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who alone possessed the energy, insight, and loyalty to overcome the "imbecility or villainy" of his immediate superiors. But frustrated they were. On May 10, Camp Jackson was captured by Lyon. On June 12, Lyon, at last in command of the Department, closed an interview with Governor Jackson at St. Louis in this fashion, as narrated by one of the Governor's staff:

> "Rather," said he (he was still seated, and spoke deliberately, slowly, and with peculiar emphasis), "rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my Government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the State whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into, out of, or through the State; rather than concede to the State of Missouri for one

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[1] *War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Official Records*, Series III, Vol. 1, p. 83.

single instant the right to dictate to my Government in any matter, however unimportant, I would" (rising as he said this, and pointing in turn to every one in the room), "see you, and you, and you, and you, and you, and every man, woman, and child in the State, dead and buried." Then turning to the Governor, he said: "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines." And then, without another word, without an inclination of the head, without even a look, he turned upon his heel and strode out of the room.[1]

The next day appeared Governor Jackson's proclamation calling for 50,000 men to drive the Federal troops from the State. With this began in Missouri the Civil War,—a war waged by the Governor of the commonwealth and his abettors, against the highest constituted authorities of State and Nation.

General Smith's course in these trying times was one of outspoken and strenuous denunciation of every movement which looked directly or remotely to a dissolution of the Union. Although a slaveholder himself, he warned his fellow slave-owners that if they persisted in entering upon an unholy warfare against the life of the Nation, it would result in "the track of the last slave in Missouri being washed out by the blood of the white man." At a mass-meeting held at Georgetown in February, 1861, after several Conditional Union men had spoken, General Smith was called on to express his sentiments. In the course of his remarks he declared himself an unqualified Union man. This declaration called forth some hisses. Nettled by this, he proceeded to declare in still more emphatic tones, that he was not only unqualifiedly a Union man, but that he was heart and soul, then and forever, "unconditionally" for the Union, as our fathers had bequeathed it to us, adding: "The South has needed a whipping, to my certain knowledge, for thirty years; and I pray God for her treason she may get a good one!" It was a common saying of his, at this time, that if Southern men brought on war, they might "have his negroes for three bits a dozen." The only way they knew they had a government, he was fond of saying, was by the protection it gave them. His brother-in-law, Mentor Thomson, was a candidate for the Convention, and took the position that if the majority of the people of Missouri were in favor of seceding he would vote for secession, but if they favored staying in the Union he would vote for staying in. Some of General Smith's auditors, listening to his vehement denunciations of secession, sought to attack him through his well-known family affections, and asked him if he did not intend to vote for Mr. Thomson. To this he replied in thunderous tones: "No! If a rope were tied around Mentor Thomson's neck, and my vote would save him, I would not vote for him. Furthermore, if every man, woman, and child in the State should vote for going out, I would vote for staying in; and if every State in the Union should go except Massachusetts, I would go to Massachusetts, if I had to crawl on my hands and knees to get there!"

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[1] Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*, pp. 199-200.

When news came of the firing on Fort Sumter, he was active in the effort to enlist troops for the Federal cause. Although unable himself to bear arms, he became a prime mover in raising the first Union company in Pettis county, that commanded by Captain Samuel Montgomery. A good picture of General Smith's zeal for the Union cause in those days is given in the narrative already mentioned by Mr. George S. Grover:

> A day or two after the fall of Fort Sumter, I was alone in the Sedalia depot one night reading a letter just received from home, when the General came in and asked me when I was going to join the Union forces, then being recruited with great danger and difficulty in that section. I read to him a portion of my father's letter in which he stated that he was then actively at work enrolling the Union men of Johnson county with the view of organizing a regiment, and told him of my purpose to start for Warrensburg in the morning to enlist in that command. He was greatly pleased, and sat down at my desk and wrote a long letter to my father, which he entrusted to me for delivery.
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> We entered the service on the first day of May, 1861, recruiting one company (Co. K, Captain F. L. Parker) from Sedalia, and were soon actively and busily engaged in Johnson and adjoining counties; so that, until July, 1861, when we were ordered to report at Jefferson City to Colonel U. S. Grant, then commanding that post, we did not meet General Smith. But as we then marched through Sedalia *en route* to Jefferson City, the General was

the first man there to greet us, and vehemently insisted on the whole regiment living at free quarters on his home place while there. This my father, who was then in command, would not permit, and he also refused a pressing invitation to stay at the General's house that night. So, as a compromise, General Smith took supper at our mess-table, drinking black coffee and eating hard-tack and bacon with us; and that night we were drawn up in a line near the corner of what is now Main and Ohio streets in Sedalia, where the General made a rousing speech to the regiment.

In September, 1861, our first news of my father's mortal wound at the siege of Lexington was a telegram to that effect sent me by General Smith from Jefferson City. In December, 1861, as we passed through Sedalia, going southwest with the expedition under General John Pope, General Smith searched the camp until he found me, and shed tears like a child as he talked of my father, his departed friend.

Just after the capture of Camp Jackson, while the attitude of the Governor and his followers was still in doubt, General Smith went to St. Louis to consult with Lyon and the leaders of the Unconditional Union party concerning the condition of affairs in Central Missouri. This visit was probably an outcome of the circular signed by O. D. Filley, of the Committee of Safety, and sent to loyal men throughout the State. It urged them to write frequently to St. Louis, and give such information as they might have concerning the organization of troops under Governor Jackson; asked them to report any outrages perpetrated by Secessionists on Union men;

and recommended that they organize "as fast as possible—with arms if to be had, if not without them."[1] In Lyon, General Smith found an acquaintance whom he had been able to assist in some mishap which had befallen him, several years before, while passing through Georgetown with a detachment of soldiers. Of the men who were at this time managing the Union cause in Missouri, and General Smith's relations to them, Thomas C. Fletcher, Governor of the State in the closing year of the war, wrote (1892) as follows:

> It makes me feel sad and old when I recall that time and how few of us are left. Governor Gamble, Frank Blair, Gratz Brown, Sam Glover, George R. Smith, John How, O. D. Filley, Dr. Sutton, John S. Phelps, Willard P. Hall,—all gone! They were the men of '61 whom Lyon trusted, and who loved and trusted Lyon. Broadhead, John D. Stevenson, John B. Henderson, Giles Filley, James E. Yeatman, and a few others of us are all that are left. General Smith came to St. Louis from Sedalia with Lyon, and told us on his arrival that Lyon was the man we could rely upon. He had talked with him and fully understood him. Lyon formed a great esteem for General Smith, and their attachment was mutual. I was present when General Smith received the intelligence of Lyon's death; his emotion was that of a strong man on learning the sudden death of a brother or a son. It was his opinion that if Lyon had survived the battle of Wilson's Creek, he would have been the great general of the war. I always shared that opinion.

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[1] Carr, *Missouri*, p. 310.

The contest for the control of the State, meanwhile, took on new aspects. The commencement of hostilities between Governor Jackson and the Federal forces led to the reassembling of the Convention at Jefferson City on July 22. Its business was to deal with the crisis caused by the "conspiracy" which the high officers of the State had formed to dissolve the connection of Missouri with the Federal Government and to establish through the forms of legislation a military despotism. Resolutions were adopted by the Convention declaring: (1) that the offices of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary of State were vacated, and their successors would be appointed by the Convention; (2) that the seats of members of the General Assembly were vacated, and their successors should be elected by the people; and (3) that certain "odious laws" passed by the last Assembly, in the interest of Secession, were repealed. On July 31st, the last day of this session, the Convention appointed Hamilton R. Gamble Governor, Willard T. Hall Lieutenant-Governor, and Mordecai Oliver Secretary of State.

Governor Jackson had now returned to the southwestern corner of Missouri, where he gathered troops and solicited aid from the Confederate authorities. While the Convention was still in session, the advance movement of a combined force of Missourians and Confederates was begun, under Generals Price and McCulloch. At Wilson's Creek, in the neighborhood of Springfield, General Lyon opposed the march of their 10,000 men with a force of but half that number. There on the 10th of August was fought the first important battle of the war on Missouri soil. After a bloody conflict, Lyon was killed while leading a charge, and soon after the Federal troops withdrew.

> The condition of the State about this time [wrote the Adjutant-General in his report for 1863] was deplorable. General Lyon was killed, and his heroic little army driven back to Rolla, leaving a large number of its wounded in the hands of the enemy. General Frémont, so lately come into the charge of the Department, of the wants of which he knew so little, found himself called upon for troops to defend threatened points not only in the valley of the Mississippi, but upon the Potomac. The general uprising of the enemies of the Government throughout the State, resulting from the defeat of Lyon, who used all the appliances usually put forth by desperate men to intimidate those who were of more moderate views, produced a reign of terror, of the extent of which only those who witnessed it can appreciate.

It was at this juncture that the new State government under Governor Gamble entered office, and in this, as at first organized, George R. Smith held the post of Adjutant-General.

Sedalia, like the rest of the southwestern portion of the State, was left exposed by the disaster at Wilson's Creek to Confederate attack, and to the "uprising of the enemies of Government" just mentioned. "Desperadoes," writes Mrs. Smith, "were turned loose; Union men were in hiding; farms were deserted; slaves were fleeing from their masters; the sacredness and security of home were gone. Life was becoming a chaos." Threats were made against General Smith, and friends urged upon him the duty of leaving home for a time. Yielding to these entreaties he took his two daughters in the family carriage and started to drive through to Jefferson City. "It was a sad ride," continues the foregoing narrative. "We left our negroes at the deserted home, save one of the younger boys who came with us to drive the carriage, and take it back home as soon as our father could send troops to protect the town. The whole country through which we passed was full of returning rebels, and their wild bravado and yells saluted us on every hand. We begged our father to get on the back seat of the carriage, for his position was known throughout the State from his frequent political speeches, and we trembled for his safety. This he persistently refused to do. At Syracuse we stayed over night at Dr. Moore's, whose family were very dear friends of ours, though opposed politically. They told us next morning that we were in great danger, and that if we stayed longer it was at our father's peril. We went on, and reached Jefferson City in the afternoon of the third day. There, after leaving us at the hotel, our father, without waiting to brush the dust from his clothes, sought Governor Gamble at the Capitol, saying: 'Governor, I have had to leave my home with my children. My only crime is loyalty to my country; and now I am ready for whatever you can give me to do.' The office of Adjutant-General was vacant at this time; the salary which attached to it was only $200 a year. It was offered and accepted at once. The Government was soon transferred to St. Louis, and he took us with him there and boarded us at Barnum's hotel. That place, and indeed the whole of St. Louis, was then the scene of much military glare and glory. But our father wore no uniform. I was sick and under the doctor's care. The times were for him too sad, and besides he intended to resign as soon as it should be practicable."

General Smith entered upon the duties of his office "with the rank of Brigadier-General and Adjutant-General," August 24, 1861. That same day Governor Gamble issued a proclamation calling into the active service of the State, under the old militia law, 42,000 men to serve for six months. The organization and equipment of this force was General Smith's first task. The records of his office had been carried off with Governor Jackson; and all arms, supplies, and other munitions of war had been seized by the latter to equip the force which he was raising under the "odious laws" passed by the General Assembly. Nevertheless, General Smith proceeded energetically with the work in hand. The business of the office was organized; and general orders were issued for the enlistment and organizations of troops under Governor Gamble's proclamation. The difficulties which attended the task—growing out of the absence of arms and munitions, the lack of a legislative body to pass needed measures, and the apathy of General Frémont, the Commander of the Department—seemed endless. "As yet we have few arms, and they have been distributed," General Smith was obliged to write one mustering officer, October 1, 1861; but "the interest manifested everywhere in the State gives promise of a full response to the call of the Governor." To another, October 4, he wrote that the State had no means at that time to pay for horses for cavalry companies; but if the men would furnish their own horses, the inspector was authorized to appoint men to appraise them, and they would ultimately be paid for by the United States government. Every measure was used to expedite the enlistment and equipment of the forces; for, as he wrote September 20, "if our troops were to-day in the field, they would tell powerfully in giving quiet to the State."[1]

Of General Smith's activities at this time, Governor Fletcher contributes the following account in the sketch before quoted:

> The first commissions issued to officers of the Missouri troops, in 1861, bear the signature of George R. Smith as Adjutant-General. I was on duty at the time in the Provost-Marshal-General's office and assisted General Smith's clerk of nights in filling out those commissions. Many of them are treasured by their possessors above all other earthly possessions. . . . As showing the generous-hearted patriotism of General Smith, I recall an instance

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[1] From letter-books in the Adjutant-General's office, at Jefferson City.

in the spring or summer of 1861. A regiment was completed and mustered in as the 13th Infantry, as I now recollect. The commissions were made for the officers; they received them from General Smith and he said: "Now go, be mustered in and get your uniforms at once." When some of them remarked that they had neither money nor credit to get uniforms, swords, etc., he said: "Well, boys,—here, I will give you an order to a tailor and assume personal responsibility for you." He gave at least a dozen of them such orders, and they went away happy and secured fine uniforms. How many of them he had to pay for I never knew, but some of them were soon after killed in battle, and of course he paid for the uniforms of those.

The private letters preserved by General Smith from this period are few, but among them are two that may be quoted. The first is from Colonel John F. Philips, his fellow-townsman, who later rendered excellent service to the Union cause in the field, but who was then a refugee in Kentucky. It is dated Danville, Ky., September 16, 1861:

Your good letter was duly received, for which I am under renewed obligations to you. I am sad over the lamentable condition of Missouri, and pray God that the day of her deliverance may not be far in the future. I trust that a hearty and energetic co-operation between the Federal and State forces may result speedily in the complete overthrow and demolition of the Jackson despotism in Missouri, and that peace may once more be restored to her people by their recognition of the majesty and beneficence of the American government. Surely the people of Missouri must be sick of their fatal

> Saturnalia, and have learned from bitter experience that the government of their fathers is far better than their present state of transition to monarchy.
>
> I regret that you are unable at present to accommodate me with a desirable post; yet it is gratifying to know, from all posts being filled, that the men of Missouri are coming forward, at least for the hazard of distinction. . .
>
> Kentucky is now convulsed with excitement to the very center of her great heart. In addition to the occupation of Hickman and Columbus by the Confederates, we are notified this morning, by special messenger, that the Tennesseeans with a large force have invaded Kentucky at Cumberland Gap. This arouses the people, and thousands of true soldiery will instantly report themselves ready to march against the invaders. You will learn from the legislative proceedings at Frankfort how Kentucky stands, and how she will regard her recreant sons.

The second letter is from T. T. Crittenden, of Lexington, Mo., who also became a colonel on the Union side, and rendered honorable service in the field. It bears date Lexington, Ky., September 22; and like the letter of Colonel Philips, is in reply to one from General Smith acknowledging the receipt of the offer of his services in the Missouri militia:

> I felt, General, when reading your letter, that it was almost from my beloved father, who has slept, as you are well aware, with the dead for twenty-five years; and it will ever be retained and treasured as a precious relic . . . from one who is with heart and hand struggling patriotically to rescue this beloved land of ours from the worse

than Vandal wreckers. The past has never repaid you for what you have done; the future will, when the impartial historian performs his duty. I appreciate the difficulties with which you have had and still are having to contend; it will be only the more important that you should exert yourself and develop those high talents with which God has so amply blessed you. Since my acquaintance with you, I have thought an opportunity was all that was necessary, and you would be the man for the occasion. Now is the time; you are the man; Missouri is the subject; and the unity of our States as one grand whole is the problem. . .

I am perfectly willing to do what I can to sustain my Government, which I am for unconditionally, regardless of what falls before it in its desperate struggle for future existence, and regardless of who are to be its future problematical rulers. And all I ask for now is a place to work, a work to do; and if there is not more cowardice in my heart than I suppose, it shall be done. . . It is my opinion, as well as Uncle John Crittenden's, that as I live in Missouri and expect hereafter to do so—unless she is dragged into the Confederate States—I should return there to do my fighting. . .

The storm is rapidly coming on in poor old *neutral* Kentucky, at last. . . John C. Breckinridge has fled to Tennessee,—is a violent traitor. Our legislature is at last acting boldly. Uncle John Crittenden is full of fight. His old eye glistens with its wonted beauty when he converses about Tennessee invading Kentucky. Time will soon place all things right.

General Smith held the office of Adjutant-General for a little over three months,—to be exact, from August 24, to November 30, 1861. Those were the trying days of the war in Missouri, when the provisional State government was getting started, and the vanity, incapacity, and political ambition of General Frémont were exposing Missouri to the last extremity of Confederate invasion and bushwhacking depredation. General Smith saw from the beginning that one of the first duties of the Federal forces was to reoccupy Sedalia, the terminus of the Pacific road, and so dominate the western and southwestern sections of the State. But, as Lincoln was regretfully forced to admit, Frémont had "absolutely no military capacity;" and against the apathy and red-tape of the Commander of the Department, little could be done. Frémont was relieved of his command October 24, 1861; but by this time new difficulties had arisen to beset General Smith. His personal affairs at Sedalia were going from bad to worse. General Franz Sigel had now advanced with Union forces and occupied that place, and the necessities of the troops and animals in his command led him to requisition supplies of all sorts from the neighborhood. As stated by General Smith in a speech two years later, they "had stripped his farm and laid his premises waste. Three thousand cords of wood had been taken. . . A number of acres of hay and oats, and a large quantity of corn had been removed. Nearly all the rails had been stripped from his place, and hardly anything was left but his house and yard."[1]

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[1] St. Louis *Republican*, September 2, 1863. Damages to the extent of $7,500 were awarded General Smith by a military commission; but, as he stated, he "hadn't got the money and didn't know

Moreover, differences of opinion with respect to the policy to be pursued by the State government had sprung up between General Smith and Governor Gamble. The latter, as characterized by the *Missouri Democrat* on November 27, 1861, "was in the first place a Conditional Union man, afterwards an 'armed neutrality' man, and now is, as always, a 'conservative' citizen." Already the differences between Conservatives and Radicals, in Missouri, were beginning to make themselves felt; and in the political struggle which ensued the Governor and his Adjutant-General were found in opposite camps. Governor Fletcher tells of a meeting which took place at Barnum's Hotel, in St. Louis, in the course of which Governor Gamble charged Smith with being "too radical." To this the latter epigrammatically and forcibly replied: "If a man is right, he can not

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whether he ever would." The claim was still unpaid in 1873, as is evidenced by the following communication from General Sigel to the Quartermaster-General of the United States, under date of December 19 of that year:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the papers in regard to G. R. Smith, late Adjutant-General of the State of Missouri, which papers are herewith returned. I am fully aware of having appointed the committee mentioned in the claim, and can certify to the fact that the troops under my command were encamped near Sedalia, that we were compelled to recur to requisitions for the troops and animals, that on account of the inclemency of the weather boards had to be used for flooring the tents, and on account of the scarcity of fire-wood in the neighborhood of Sedalia fence rails had to be taken. I also can state that General Smith was known to be a very good Union man. For these reasons I consider the claim as assessed and corrected by the committee not exorbitant, and the claimant deserving of the consideration of the Government. In my statement of the claim I used the word 'damages' as a general term relating to what was taken from the farm and used for military purposes."

be too radical, and if he is wrong he can not be too conservative."

The opportunity for General Smith's retirement came in the reorganization of the Missouri militia, which was effected as the result of a personal agreement between Governor Gamble and President Lincoln. The nature of this agreement may be gathered from the following letter to General J. W. Noel, bearing date October 24; it is the last of the letters in the records of the Adjutant-General's office which bears General Smith's name, the signature alone being in his handwriting:

> I am instructed by Governor Gamble to say that no more commissions will issue to field officers under the call for six months' volunteers until he returns from Washington City, for which place he leaves to-day. His object is to get the President to accept the volunteers from Missouri for service in the State, for six months or during the war in Missouri, and to arm, clothe, subsist, and pay the troops raised for our defense.
>
> I have no doubt of his success; in which event we shall at once be able to supply the urgent demands from every part of the State for arms, clothing, etc., etc.
>
> We are using every effort in our power; but stripped as our State has been by those heretofore in power, we find it a very difficult matter to provide for a contingency demanding an enormous outlay of ready cash, which we have not got, nor the credit to procure.
>
> This is not intended to interfere with the enlistments made, but to request of Division Inspectors to explain the reasons for withholding commissions

> for the present. As soon as the Governor returns, a General Order will be issued and instruction given that will, I trust, at once fill up our regiments to the quota called for by the proclamation.

Possibly it was the determination of Governor Gamble to limit the use of the Missouri forces to service within the State that crystallized General Smith's resolution to resign. Doubtless he felt that his immediate task was done, and that younger hands might now be found to carry on the work. At all events, in the St. Louis *News* of November 29, 1861, appeared a brief item, announcing without comment his resignation, and the appointment of Colonel Chester Harding as his successor; and the next day his tenure of office came to an end.

> Our father was now at liberty to go home [writes Mrs. Smith] taking my sister and myself with him; and there with heart, soul, and body, he still served his country. Our house was cheerfully and freely given up to his old friends as headquarters for Union recruiting purposes. Colonel Philips, Mr. Henry Neal, and other persons equally enthusiastic in their patriotism, used our home in this way. Refugees also came in from unprotected places, and were more than welcome to this unceremonious and unconstrained hospitality. Our father was in frequent demand by the military officers who were in charge of the place, and was often called upon to assist them in determining who were and who were not in open rebellion.

For some time thereafter, aside from such informal assistance to the Union cause, General Smith took no part in public affairs. His own private business fully occupied his attention. His plans for Sedalia were threatening to turn out badly. The town grew with considerable rapidity in the early months of 1861; but when hostilities had begun, and the inhabitants were exposed to depredations from rival forces, all building operations ceased. "Not a nail was driven," according to an old resident of the town, "after the first of May, 1861."[1] Mr. Bouldin, at that time his partner in the venture, was a rebel sympathizer, and fled South when the Union troops occupied Sedalia; and the political differences between him and General Smith led to endless business tangles and legal complications. General Smith also saw himself threatened with the loss of the whole of his interest in the new town by execution for debt. To purchase the land on which it was located he had borrowed some $5,000 in 1858; and when the unsettled state of affairs made it impossible to sell property or to raise money, he was confronted with a judgment of court for the principal and interest of his note, amounting to $6,937.33. The holder, Fayette McMullin, had espoused the Confederate side and cordially detested General Smith for his political views. No mercy was to be expected from him; and it was only the stoppage of all processes of court in this section during the war, that delayed the settlement of the matter to the closing months of the conflict.

In the summer of 1862, General Smith and his daughters visited Ohio, where relatives lived near Lebanon. Of a visit to the family of one of these, this account is given by Mrs. Smith:

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[1] *History of Pettis County*, p. 409.

> Coming from Missouri, it was naturally expected that we were Southern sympathizers, and the family speculated the night before we came what should be done with "those rebels." Father had not been able to join us that day, but we were escorted courteously to the home, where a noon dinner awaited us. The families of the married sons living in the village, and the son and daughter of the household, with their venerable father and mother, made a considerable party for the introduction of these apparently diverse elements, North and South. We found them delightful people. The curiosity of our cousin, the Judge, hastened the disclosure of our respective politics. In a lull of the conversation I heard the Judge's question, "Well, Cousin Sarah, is your father a Whig or a Democrat." "He is a Democrat," was the answer I heard. Thinking to correct her strange mistake, I vehemently said, "Why, Sister, he is not a Democrat, and never was." It was rather ludicrous for these two "suspects" to be contradicting each other so flatly on a point so vitally important; but my sister jocosely said, "Sister, you never would let me have any fun. It had not occurred to me before that by any possible combination of circumstances our father could be taken for a Democrat; and I wanted to see how it would feel." This led to explanation and more hilarity, and the visit passed pleasantly.
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> In a week or two our father himself came; he was about the same age as Judge Smith, and they delved into the past. Thrown together, after many years, from the two sides of a hitherto impassable gulf between the North and the South, they found they

had been exactly together in all the important national issues; although one cousin had been surrounded by Southern Democrats, who cherished a venomous hatred of the Northern "Yankee," and the other environed with the ideas of the North, they were equally bold and aggressive. Both had worked for the great cause which the nation was defending in civil war; and it was beautiful to see Western bluntness mingling with Eastern culture on this lofty ground of righteousness. Afterwards we visited other relations near by, who were Northern Democrats, reaching this family July 3d. The next day, Independence was to be celebrated at Camp Denison, and my father and sister accompanied the family. The special exercises being over, it became known that a gentleman from Missouri was accidentally present. Supposing him to be a Democrat, there arose loud cries for a speech, at which General Smith arose, reluctantly, but spoke in his usual denunciatory language. It was soon manifest by the loud cheers of the Union soldiers, and the long faces of the Democrats, that the wrong passenger had been waked up. Like most of his speeches, this was impromptu, and was not preserved. But the newspapers caught at the incident, and it went round the press entitled, "The Vallandighamers caught a Tartar."

The General's daughters remained in Ohio after his return to Missouri, and from letters which he wrote to them at this time some idea may be derived of the conditions by which he was surrounded and the opinions he held. August 1, 1862, he wrote: "From the tone of your letters, I judge you want to come home. There is too much excitement and too much uncertainty here for you to come now.

You are removed now from this unholy rebellion, and I intend you to remain so, until you determine to come. I have no wish to have you here until the country is quiet, or at least more so than it is at present. There is considerable trouble in the adjoining counties, none in this; there is too large a force here for that." And again, August 14: "I wrote you last night, and have thought to-day you might be uneasy about my letter. There was great apprehension last night that we would be attacked. Our force has increased, and I think there is now no danger. . . There is much excitement in Missouri now. The sympathizers with the rebellion and the scoundrels all over the State are doing everything they can in robbing and assassinating. I think, however, all will soon be right. Missouri will soon be one vast military camp, and it will be too hot for Southern sympathizers. God grant that the work of death could be staid! If I could stop it, I would. What a spectacle! What a commentary upon civilization!" Three days later he wrote from St. Louis: "There has been and still was very great excitement at Sedalia, and indeed all over the western part of Missouri, many persons expecting hourly an attack at Sedalia. Yesterday a force of eight hundred Federals was attacked twelve miles this side of Lexington, and completely routed, killing and wounding two hundred. The rebel force was said to number from 2,500 to 4,000. Major Foster, of Philips' regiment, who was in command, was mortally wounded. Our Government seems to be gradually waking up from a sleep that has well nigh destroyed us. I met to-day one regiment and a company of artillery going to Sedalia; they will get there by 9 o'clock to-night. I understood this morning, when I left, that several thousand men were marching from Kansas and Clinton to Sedalia. If so, there will be there to-night six or eight thousand troops. It is to be hoped they will overhaul the rebels who made the attack on Foster yesterday."

General Smith's re-entrance into public affairs came in 1862. It was due in part to the dissatisfaction which may be traced in the foregoing letter with the prosecution of the war; but in still larger part it was due to the feeling that on the slavery question a more radical policy was needed than that which the Government adopted.

At the very beginning of the conflict, Blair experienced difficulty in getting the anti-slavery Republicans, who were mainly Germans, and had voted for Lincoln, to unite in the choice of delegates to the Convention with the Douglas and the Bell-Everett men, who supported the Union but were favorable or at most neutral on the subject of slavery. The differences between the two factions developed rapidly as the months went bv. The question upon which they differed most, though there were many subsidiary points of difference, was that of slavery. The prominence given this question was partly the natural result of its importance, partly also it was due to special causes. One of the most noteworthy of the latter was Frémont's famous proclamation of August 31, 1861. In this, as commander of the military Department of the West, he not only assumed "the administrative powers of the State," declared "martial law throughout the State of Missouri," threatened all persons taken with arms in their hands within his lines with trial by court-martial and military execution; but he also announced that "the property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men."[1]

Although this proclamation was, within a fortnight, modified by President Lincoln's orders to conform to the policy enacted by Congress on August 6, 1861, it was still of prime importance in consolidating the radical and anti-slavery sentiment. The attitude of the Radicals in Missouri at this time is indicated in the following reminiscences of Governor Fletcher; despite some slight errors of chronology, due doubtless to the lapse of a third of a century, the account is substantially correct:

> In December, 1861, the question arose among the loyalists in Missouri as to what we would do in regard to the slavery question. Up to that time we had only considered the question of the preservation of the Union. About that time the question was presented to us squarely, Would we

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[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IV, pp. 416-17.

preserve the Union, or preserve slavery? We all recognized the fact that we had to give up one or the other. I made a speech at Union, in Franklin county, Mo., in which I said that "having arms in our hands we never intended to lay them down while slavery existed." General Halleck called me to account for the statement, and threatened to dismiss me from the service for it. I found few men to stand by me in the position which I took. Foremost among them was General George R. Smith. He was acting as Adjutant-General of Missouri at the time, under Governor Gamble, who was not yet ready to join in the decree of the abolition of slavery. General Halleck reprimanded me and Governor Gamble was incensed against me, but General George R. Smith came to my rescue and stood up boldly and said: "We must give up slavery or give up the Union, and I am for the Union first and last and all the time." He came to me and said: "I will stand by you; you are right." Frank Blair came to see me and said he would stand by me, and among others cited General George R. Smith as one we could rely upon. Charles D. Drake made a speech July 4, 1861, in which he went so far as to proclaim that slavery was the cause of the war. General Smith told him that we had got way beyond that long ago.

In the political campaign of 1862, General Smith came forward as a Radical candidate for the legislature, but was unsuccessful. His address announcing his candidacy was issued from St. Louis on October 30, 1862, and set forth his position in the following terms:

Fellow Citizens:—I have been compelled to remain here longer than I expected. I will not be able to get home in time for the election. I am a candidate to represent the county of Pettis in the lower branch of the State legislature. My past history you know. I have been from the beginning of this unholy rebellion unconditionally for the Union, in favor of whipping the South into submission—unconditional submission—and am now in favor of prosecuting the war with all the vigor that can be infused into our army and especially into the Major-General. I am for showing no quarter to rebels and traitors in arms against the best government on earth. I endorse the President's Emancipation Proclamation, and am in favor of the acceptance of his proposition to the Border States, with compensation to loyal owners for their slaves.

I appeal to Union men, and only to Union men, to stand by and uphold the Government. We have many men claiming to be Union. Every traitor in the country claims that he is *par excellence* a Union man, whilst he is cautiously feeling for the fifth rib to plunge the assassin's dagger into the vitals of the Government. I make no appeal to them, or to open, blatant traitors.

To Union men let me say, If you are not now upon my platform you will be before this war ends. The longer you hesitate, the longer this war will last. If elected, I shall take great pleasure in advising our antedeluvian Congressmen that straight-out Union men think traitors have no rights in a government they are trying to destroy, and shall urge them to act accordingly. They are either afraid they might make the traitors mad, excite them, and drive them to desperation, or they still have some lingering love for them. I have none. If you expect the rose-water policy to be pursued by me, as it is called, don't vote for me. I shall go energetically to work, if elected, to crush out treason and punish the traitors.

The view to which the Conservatives clung, even so late as the close of 1862, is indicated by Governor Gamble's message of December 30, on emancipation. Prefacing his discussion with the remark that, as he had always lived in a slave State, he had no prejudice against the institution, he proceeded to show why, at that time, Missouri should take steps for the emancipation of her slaves. In the first place, the material interests of the State would be promoted by the substitution of free labor for slave; secondly, the announcement of an emancipation resolution would serve to extinguish the desire of the Confederate States to force Missouri into the Confederacy; and third, the Rebellion had operated to diminish the number of slaves in Missouri anyway, and to render their tenure so insecure that even if the war were to end at that moment no considerable migration of slave-owners into the State could be expected. Therefore, in his view, some measure looking toward gradual emancipation—such as would serve to give the assurance that this would ultimately be a free State—ought to be adopted, with a view to the encouragement of immigration from the non-slaveholding States.[1]

By the beginning of 1863, both parties had come to the conviction that slavery must go; their only difference was as to ways and means. Acting on the recommendations of the Governor, the Conservatives wished to reconvene the existing Convention and have it initiate emancipation; while the Radicals advocated the election of an entirely new Convention. Measures embodying each policy failed in the legislature; whereupon Governor Gamble took the step of calling the old Convention by proclamation to meet on June the 15th. The Conservative majority of the Convention, when it met, dealt with the subject in an eminently conservative way. "They indeed devised and adopted a scheme of emancipation, but it was one which, in the new condition of public opinion, seemed vitiated with a spirit of selfishness and an after-thought of evasion. The ordinance adopted provided in substance that slavery should cease in Missouri in the year 1870, and prohibited sales to non-residents after that date, provided that all slaves so emancipated should remain in servitude, those over forty years of age during their lives, those under twelve until they became twenty-three, and all others until July 4, 1876. Thus the institution of slavery in Missouri would have remained untouched for the period of seven years, with of course the contingent possibility of a change of public sentiment and a repeal of the ordinance before any right to freedom could accrue. . . The period of postponement was long, and no provision was made to prevent slaves being sold out of the State in the interim. Another objectionable provision was that slave property was exempted from all further taxation. It was to be expected that such a dilatory and half-hearted measure as this would receive popular acceptance."[1]

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[1] *Journal of House of Representatives, Regular Session, 1862-3.*

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[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VIII, p. 209.

The agitation was continued by the Radicals, and the movement assumed the form of an organized protest against the whole Conservative rule. The cold-blooded massacre, by Quantrell and his Missouri bushwhackers, on August 21, 1863, of some two hundred unoffending Union men at Lawrence, Kansas, and the destruction of the town, added fuel to the flames; and on September 1, a mass convention of Radicals, of which General Smith was a member, met at Jefferson City to denounce the Conservative government and demand more radical measures.

The opinions which Missourians formed of this meeting—the "Charcoal Convention" as it was styled, from the name by which the Radicals were sometimes called—differed according to their political point of view. By the Conservative organ of St. Louis it was characterized as a "meeting of conspirators against the peace of this State; of those who propose to put out of office, by force, the present State government and to improvise a new government on its ruins; of those who are not satisfied with the Ordinance of Emancipation, or rather with that amendment of the Constitution which wipes out slavery in this State in less time than it was ever accomplished in any other State of the Union; of that class who propose radical change in this Military Department,—and failing that, to denounce the President and his Cabinet for refusing to carry out their insane and treasonable projects."[1] The Radical organ, on the other hand, viewed it as "the most successful and most important political convention ever held in the State." "The convention derives its importance," said this sheet, "from the position which it has taken upon the questions of the day. The ground it has seen fit to occupy will command at once the national attention and respect. For the first time in the history of the Nation a great party has adopted a platform of unconditional freedom as the basis of a thorough State organization in a slave State. The party which has done this holds the destinies of Missouri in its hands."[1]

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[1] St. Louis *Republican*, September 1, 1863.

In the organization of the convention, General Smith was chosen one of eighteen vice-presidents. At the evening meeting, September 1, he was the chief speaker, and made a speech which the opposition paper characterized as "radical enough in all conscience." It adds: "He said he didn't care if the Copperheads lost all their slaves, and he had got to that point where he didn't care much if his Union friends lost theirs also."[2]

At the meeting next morning, General Smith was called to take the chair. Before taking his seat he made a second speech, in which he dealt with the efforts that had been made to secure a change of policy in Missouri from the Administration at Washington. Individual Radicals, and small committees, he said, had been able to do nothing because they were regarded as a mere faction. For his part he thought there were enough true Union men in every county to pay the expenses of one of their number to Washington; accordingly, he urged the appointment of a committee to consist of one delegate from each county, to go to Washington and lay their grievances before the President, proving by their numbers that they were not a mere faction. This proposition was received with enthusiasm, and the committee, with General Smith as one of its members, was appointed, and in due time made the trip.

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[1] *Missouri Democrat*, September 3 and 4, 1863.
[2] *St. Louis Republican*, September 2, 1863.

The platform and resolutions adopted by the convention may be found in the *Missouri Democrat* for September 3. The members of the convention styled themselves "the loyal people of Missouri in mass convention assembled;" and after resolving that they sustain the Government in a vigorous prosecution of the war to a final completion, they declared:

> 2. That we deprecate and denounce the military policy pursued in this State, and the delegation by the General Government of military powers to a provisional State organization, the whole tendency of which is to throw back our people under the control of pro-slavery and reactionary influences, to paralyze the Federal power in suppressing the rebellion, and to prolong a reign of terror throughout large sections of the State, and to extend aid and comfort to those who are meditating hostility to the national authority in other States.
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> 3. That we do most heartily indorse the principles first enunciated by General Frémont in his proclamation of freedom of August 31, 1861, and

afterwards sanctioned and embodied in the President's proclamation of September 22, 1862, and January 1, 1863; that the salvation of the Union demands the prompt execution of said proclamation in spirit and in letter; that in all forthcoming struggles we shall recognize no man as our standard-bearer who is not pledged emphatically for said principles; and that those liberated under such proclamations can not be reduced to slavery again, and that we will not sustain any reorganization of the country that does not embody the freedom principles therein contained. . . .

5. That we arraign the provisional government as untrue to the loyal people of this State: First, as having usurped power and exercised it for sinister ends. Second, as having prostituted an assumed independent military power to the purpose of maintaining policies antagonistic to the General Government and an institution hostile to the welfare of the State. Third, as having imprisoned loyal men for expressing sentiments in opposition to the State Government. Fourth, as having issued orders disarming the loyal population in disturbed districts, and having tolerated avowed and enrolled disloyalists everywhere. Fifth, as having issued orders in distinct violation of the articles of war, in conflict with the orders of the War Department, and having refused to co-operate with the General Government, in cases of direct invasion, by withdrawing its troops from the service. Sixth, as having refused to permit enlistments into the United States volunteer forces by disqualifying orders. Seventh, as having used persistent efforts to have removed from command officers displaying energetic action in the suppression of the rebellion, and to have suspended all orders levying assessments against disloyalists, finally refusing to co-operate in their execution.

Eighth, as having enrolled, commissioned, and brought into active service known and avowed disloyalists. Ninth, as having issued orders in violation of the Constitution and the laws.

6. That we demand a policy of immediate emancipation in Missouri, because it is necessary not only to the financial condition of the State and the prosecution of its industrial enterprises and material improvements, but especially because it is essential to the security of the lives of our citizens, the peace of our homes, and the quiet of our communities.

7. That we are in favor of a constitutional enactment for the disfranchisement of all those who have taken up arms or levied war against the Government, or adhered to the enemies thereof in the present rebellion; that to allow them the free and unrestricted use of the ballot-box would be making them more dangerous than they were in the field, and would tend directly to the subversion and destruction of the Government.

8. That we demand of our General Assembly to call a Convention of the people, to take into consideration the grievances under which the State now labors, and to redress the wrongs which have been inflicted upon it by usurped authority; and that if our General Assembly shall refuse so to do, we will take such measures as will elicit the voice and action of the people of this State.

9. That Conventions are in the nature of sovereign remedies, applied by the people for the redress of grievances; that they are extra-constitutional, and while the custom has been to signify the will of the people for such call through their General Assembly, yet in the default of action on the part of the General Assembly, or in case of their refusal to obey instructions, nothing can derogate from the right of the people to act in their capacity.

Supplementary resolutions were adopted, among others, calling upon Governor Gamble and Lieutenant-Governor Hall to vacate their positions; urging the President to remove General Schofield, then in command of the Department; and expressing horror at "the late atrocious massacre of innocent and unoffending Union men at Lawrence."

These resolutions sufficiently indicate the views and the demands with which the committee appointed by the convention, seventy in number, went to Washington to see the President. A delegation from Kansas, with much the same objects, joined the Missouri delegation, and the two were given a joint audience by President Lincoln on September 30, 1863. The chairman of the committee, Hon. Charles D. Drake, of St. Louis, read to the President their long, studied address; and after the President had given a reply to some of the points presented, an informal discussion took place in which various members of the committee expressed their views. Addresses supplementary to that of September 30 were presented by the committee on October 3; and on the 5th, President Lincoln made his final reply. The demand that at elections persons might not be allowed to vote who were not entitled by law so to do, was conceded; but the requests for the removal of General Schofield, and the substitution of National forces for the Missouri Enrolled Militia, were refused. The President admitted the suffering and wrong done to the Union men, but failed to see that General Schofield or the Enrolled Militia were responsible.

> The whole can be explained [he said] on a more charitable and, as I think, a more rational hypothesis. We are in civil war. In such cases there is always a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and Slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union *with,* but not *without,* slavery,—those for it, *without,* but not *with,*—those for it *with* or *without,* but prefer it *with,*—and those for it *with* or *without,* but prefer it *without.* Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for *gradual* but not for *immediate,* and those who are for *immediate,* but not for *gradual* extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned, and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed

under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general. . .

I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it all. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things; for then they would agree with each other, and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise, and I do not question their right. I, too, shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri, or elsewhere, responsible to me, and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all; but at last I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.[1]

Nowhere, perhaps, is Lincoln more clearly revealed, in the language of Lowell, as

"The kindly-earnest, brave, forseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame."

He was obliged to refuse the demands of these Radicals, and to let them know that the reins of mastery lay in his hands. But his own sympathies were with them, because of the integrity and sincerity of their political views. Some weeks later, as recorded by his secretary, Mr. Hay, he gave utterance to a remark which may be accepted as the most fitting characterization of this party. "I believe after all," he said, "those Missouri Radicals will carry their State, and I do not object to it. They are nearer to me than the other side in thought and sentiment, though bitterly hostile personally. They are the unhandiest fellows in the world to deal with; but after all, their faces are set Zionward."[1]

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[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VIII, p. 22.

President Lincoln's forecast of the political results in Missouri proved correct. At the election held November 3, 1863, the Radicals made some gains and won a slight victory, the soldiers' vote being cast almost unanimously for their ticket. In January, 1864, occurred the death of Governor Gamble, the most conspicuous leader of the Conservatives. This materially weakened the party, and as the Presidential election of that year came on, the Conservatives as an organization practically went to pieces. The voters of Democratic antecedents returned to the Democratic fold, and supported McClellan, on the Chicago platform which declared the war a failure; while those of Whig and Republican origin, little by little fused with the Radicals. The hostility of the latter to Lincoln proved more a matter which concerned the leaders than the rank and file; and despite the opposition of some German Frémonters, Lincoln carried the State by 40,000 majority. At this election, for the first time since the beginning of the war, State officers were chosen; and the entire Radical ticket, with Governor Thomas C. Fletcher at its head, was elected by a similar vote. In the elections to the General Assembly, the Radicals secured a majority of the Senate, and three-fourths of the lower house. And finally it was decided that a new Constitutional Convention be called, whose first action should be to pass an immediate emancipation ordinance; and of the delegates chosen to this body, three-fourths were taken from the Radical party.

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[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VIII, p. 220.

General Smith was one of the electors on the Lincoln ticket at this election, and took an active part in the canvass. He was also chosen to a seat for the Sixteenth district in the State Senate. In the organization of that body his long and unswerving devotion to Radical Union views procured for him the unanimous election as president *pro tem.;* he was also appointed to the committees on claims, State lands, and county records, and was made chairman of the committee on elections. His relations with Governor Fletcher were intimate and cordial. "Circumstances placed me in the most prominent position at that time in Missouri," wrote the latter in after days, "and upon the judgment, discretion and heroic patriotism of General George R. Smith, I relied as much as upon that of any other man in Missouri." "When the days of reconstruction came," he continues in another place, "among those with whom I conferred was General

Smith; and he said to me: 'Tell the President that we will do our own reconstruction.' I so told President Lincoln, and we did our own reconstruction."

On January 24, 1865, General Smith introduced into the Senate the concurrent resolution which follows, the object of which was to vacate certain civil and military offices in the State, the holders of which were lukewarm in the support of the war:

> *Whereas,* The loyal people of this State, on the 8th day of November last, by more than forty thousand majority, emphatically declared in favor of the unity of these United States, and a speedy suppression of this unholy war, begun and now carried on by Southern traitors and Northern sympathizers;
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> *And whereas,* A large number of this latter class are known to occupy important civil as well as military offices in this State; therefore,
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> *Be it resolved,* By the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring therein, That the Constitutional Convention now in session in the city of St. Louis be requested to pass an ordinance vacating all the civil offices of this State, the incumbents of which were elected or appointed previous to the 8th day of November last, and that his Excellency, the Governor of the State, is hereby respectfully requested to have dismissed from any of the military offices of this State all persons who, in any manner, sympathized with the South in 1861, so that the rights of Union men may be secured in this Government.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, and was reported February 4, with the recommendation that it do not pass. On the 10th the resolution was called up by General Smith, who advocated its passage in "a lengthy and argumentative speech." The address which he delivered at this time was published in pamphlet form, after undergoing some revision; and from this, the following extracts are taken:

> I have not introduced this resolution to advance a single personal claim or to manufacture one jot of political capital. My position, Mr. President, as far as I am known, is and always has been well understood; I have nothing to make and nothing to lose by the present avowal of my opinions. So long and so intimately have I been connected with the Radical party, that its glory is in part mine, and no ungrateful hand could, if it would, wrench it from me; nor can I evade its responsibilities. But if ever its day of shame shall come—and come it may—I shall enter into the shadow of its red mantle without a murmur.
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> One principle, Mr. President, and one alone, prompts me; that, sir, is to correct an outrage,—such an outrage as every Union man in Missouri will bear me out in saying has been and is to-day a disgrace—a burning shame—a damning outrage—upon the Union party, most reluctantly and grievously borne by us ever since this unholy and iniquitous war was forced upon our Government by a bloated and effete aristocracy.
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> Go where you may, throughout this State—and I understand the same facts exist in every other State—and you will find in all the departments of Government, either civil or military, in many, very many—perhaps a majority—of the offices, incumbents, clerks, or employes, who were known rebels

or rebel sympathizers in 1861, and who are now only ostensibly loyal through self-interest. . . . And now, Mr. President, I appeal to Senators upon this floor—I implore them—to give this subject their serious consideration. Shall this condition of things longer exist, without an effort at reform? I am not bold in declaring, what is on the lips of every truly loyal man, that this class of officials cast the weight of their office and their personal influence on the side of treason. Yielding obedience to the letter of law, they violate its spirit. . .

Do they never declare for the rebellion? Equally reticent are they in behalf of our Government. Do they not build bonfires over rebel successes? They are alike stoical when a Union victory electrifies the heart of the nation. Does our Government find it necessary to encroach upon the ancient and heretofore recognized rights of the South (rights no longer, however)? With what "holy horror" do these hypocritical pharisees roll their eyes Heavenward, and shudder for the fate of the blessed "chivalry!" But when civilization is outraged, as at Fort Pillow, Lawrence, and Centralia, and when the scalping knife of the guerilla is seen all over our devoted State,—when flags are at half mast, and a black pall is upon our land, and we miss our Lyons, our Bakers, our McPhersons, and our thousands of other noble dead; what one of these galvanized Union men was ever known to recoil from such barbarism, or propose a monument to the departed great? Be not deceived. Remember Price's last raid. Their hearts are deceitful above all else, and desperately wicked.

Mr. President, during the continuance of this rebellion men of this stripe can not be—ought not to be—trusted in office. No one can faithfully serve two masters at the same time, even though both be after the manner of his liking; much less can he love the one and serve the other.

Sir, the duty of every American citizen is at war with neutrality toward this rebellion, and obliges him to lend the energies of his heart and hand to its suppression. He must be more than as a stranger to its interests; he must be its *active enemy*. This is the service every citizen owes his Government; and it is absolutely impossible and incompatible with a single emotion of love or sympathy for treason. Every officer under our Government is in duty bound to wield all the power in his hands against the traitors who are striving to blot out our nationality. . .

Grant, however, that thus burdened we can still outride the storm. Is it wise? Is it just? These are important questions that the members of this body can not consider too gravely. Is not rebellion, in a bad cause against a humane Government, a serious crime? Can a nation let crime go unpunished with impunity? Is disloyalty a virtue, with a virtuous claim upon the patronage of the Government against which it has raised the fratricidal hand? Can any Government afford to disregard devoted loyalty and offer a premium for treason? . .

Sir, there is one fact known to us all that makes the practice against which this resolution militates especially obnoxious. It is this: Throughout our whole State there are thousands of men whose loyalty breathes the spirit of martyrdom, whom this war has reduced to penury and unspeakable suffering, and whose wives and daughters eke out a miserable existence, supporting themselves by drudgeries hitherto unknown to them. Let your eyes sweep over our prairies, our valleys, and our hills, and see the desolated condition of our State; behold the thousands of solitary chimneys, charred monuments testifying in their mournful solitude that here was once the abode of a family who lived in comfort, perhaps in affluence, guiltless of treason, therefore broken up, scattered, beggared—nay more, their fathers, husbands, and sons, in many cases, murdered; their bones lie unburied upon the soil they loved so well; their crime was devotion to the Government their fathers bequeathed them.

Let us deal thoughtfully and kindly with those who remain. Go west and southwest of my home, through what may be appropriately termed the Valley of Death. Occasionally may be seen a farmhouse still standing, the farm unmolested, the family still in peace. Nine cases out of ten, that family are rebels—a father or son, perhaps, in the rebel army. And now, sir, I appeal to the good sense of this legislature in behalf of these long oppressed, down trodden, suffering loyalists. Through refining fires and sore trials of revolution they have remained true and faithful to this glorious Union. Is it right that they should go needy while the wealth of the Government is lavished by thousands, nay millions, upon those who were armed rebels or rebel sympathizers in 1861, and who are now only loyal so far as self-interest and oaths constrain them? If wrong (and I honestly believe we are), in the name of God who has so long scourged us for our sins, let us do right; let patriots be rewarded and traitors punished.

On the 8th day of last November the Radical Union party took possession of this State and entered upon its control. Its destiny, for weal or woe, is in our keeping. Two of the departments of the Government are now under the control of the Radical party. As one of that party, I am free to declare that, as we are to be responsible for its administration, that administration should be in its own hands.

I am aware that in ordinary times this could not be; but now it so turns out that the people, in Convention assembled, have the power to do all that is necessary for the safety and prosperity of the State. I would not have the offices referred to in the resolution now before us vacated for my party's sake, except to secure the good of this great State. I believe in no other way can we so effectually protect our citizens and secure harmony in all the departments of State. I believe we owe it, in justice, to the long-suffering Unionists of the land; I believe it richly merited by those upon whom it may fall. With traitors I have no fellowship, and desire none. I know no grades in loyalty. "He who is not for us is against us;" and here, Mr. President, I do most solemnly declare, that so far as my acts as a legislator are concerned, I will vote for no bill or resolution that accords to traitors or sympathizers with treason equality with loyalists. They may return to some of the privileges of citizenship, but must be content with an humble position. They have, by their own act, forfeited every right once enjoyed in our Government, and no act of mine shall restore them again to the proud title of American citizens. I may forgive the erring beardless boys, not fully citizens ere they became traitors, but not now; no, sir, not now. Born and educated as I was, in what has been known in common parlance as "the South," and all my associations and teachings "South"—never having so much as visited a free State previous to this rebellion—I know well how adroitly, cunningly, and designedly the poison of sectional prejudice has been instilled into the minds of our youth. Therefore it is that I can make some allowance for them; but not yet. They must do penance for a season, that they may fully appreciate the proud declaration, "I am an American citizen."

Mr. President, in further justification of the resolution under consideration, let me very briefly refer to some of the results of this unholy war.

In the spring of 1861, just previous to the outbreak of this rebellion, our State was never in so prosperous a condition. Her wealth was founded upon the most productive agriculture; her commerce was daily enlarging its dominions; her manufactures were advancing to place and influence; her mountains of iron, her beds of other minerals and coal, enough to supply the demands of the whole world, were being rapidly developed; her railroads progressing rapidly to completion; her universities, colleges, seminaries, and schools were filled with the youth of the country; her churches, for the worship of the only true and living God, were increasing in numbers and influence; every branch of industry met a profitable and rich reward. In a word, all was peace, contentment, and happiness. But in an evil hour, an ambitious and unscrupulous Governor issued his proclamation for fifty thousand troops to make war against the General Government. No grievance was complained of,—none could be specified. The citizens of Missouri had received from that Government nothing but kindness; they had abundant cause to be grateful,—none whatever for enmity. But O, ingratitude! stronger than traitors' arms. I need not hesitate to tell the truth; the world knows our dishonor. With pain and mortification we must confess that thousands of our citizens responded to the call of the arch-traitor, and locked bayonets in deadly strife with those who, for their country, "dared to do and die."

From thence dates the work of death and devastation. Union men were tortured and shot in the presence of their wives and children. Many of us were compelled to leave our homes and seek safety among strangers for our lives, our only crime being devotion to that Union our fathers had bequeathed "as a rich legacy unto their issue." I will not attempt to depict, if I could, the horrors that ensued and are still perpetrated upon Union men. You all know them. Did every wrong have a tongue, the melancholy story of violence and blood, and "bitter, burning wrongs we have in our hearts' cells shut up," must still go unrelated. Now, as the bloody tragedy seems drawing to a close, what is the condition of our State, so prosperous when first her peace was broken by the clangor of arms? Our people have been wantonly murdered, robbed, and driven from the State; our agricultural, mechanical, commercial, and mineral interests lie prostrate; our railroads torn up, bridges burned, and we unable to re-build them; our universities, colleges, and schools abandoned and ruined; our children uneducated and ignorant; our asylums for the unfortunate of our race despoiled, robbed, and the unfortunates multiplied; our churches are become hospitals for the sick and wounded of this war, and we have no more Sabbaths; our people are ruined by taxation, and the cry for bread is heard in our land; the farmer is still shot down at his plow, and armies are still eating out our substance.

Mr. President, this is but a glimpse of the long train of evils entailed upon our people by this most foul and unnatural rebellion, of an unprincipled set of slaveholders and their minions, to extend the area of human slavery. They have dishonored the hitherto unsullied name of America; they have crushed the prosperity of the commonwealth; they have plunged millions of honest people into the depths of earthly miseries, and cast upon our people, for generations to come, the burden of oppressive taxation? And why, sir, have they done these things? Only that the strong might oppress the weak; only that one race of common humanity might break in pieces the image of God in another, and crush out the virtue of the hearts of millions of their fellow creatures. Does not the blood of our murdered brothers cry to us for vengeance? And is not vengeance meet when mercy rewards crime? Does not posterity call to us from the bosom of the future to guard them against a curse like ours, by affixing a penalty to treason that shall for all time be a terror to traitors? Is it urged that those at whom this resolution is directed were but slightly hostile, and but partially culpable? I answer, the punishment proposed is exceedingly light, and far less than they deserve. It only requires them to descend from places they hold against the will of the people, as expressed by an overwhelming popular verdict at the last election, and return to more humble spheres, in atonement for ungenerous treatment of misplaced confidence and betrayal of their country.

I believe the resolution a judicious one, and that the great mass of the Union party of Missouri desire its passage. I urge upon their representatives here not to disappoint them, but by their unanimous approval, apply to the State Convention, and to his Excellency, the Governor, to execute the behest it embodies. I have said what I have in its favor from no personal motive; although, in common with others, I have felt the heavy hand of oppression. Not my own wrongs, but the wrongs of my countrymen and my country constitute my sole apology for so long occupying the time of the Senate. . .[1]

In his advocacy of the above resolution, General

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[1] *Speech of Gen. Geo. R. Smith, delivered in the Missouri State Senate on the 10th of February, 1865.* (St. Louis, 1865; 10 pages.)

Smith was joined by half a dozen other Senators, who spoke in favor of its spirit; but the matter was finally disposed of by a vote, 19 to 9, to lay the resolution on the table. The matter was therefore left to the Convention without instruction.

The final and complete abolition of slavery in the State of Missouri came while General Smith was a member of this Assembly. The Constitutional Convention which had been voted at the November election, 1864, met in St. Louis on January 5, 1865; and on the 11th the expected ordinance of emancipation was passed in the following form:

> *Be it ordained by the People of the State of Missouri in Convention assembled,* That hereafter in this State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves, are hereby declared free.

This ordinance was immediately telegraphed to Governor Fletcher at Jefferson City; and on the same day he transmitted to the Senate his proclamation embodying and enforcing it. An outburst of the wildest enthusiasm followed. The celebration lasted far into the night. "Every window of the Capitol was illuminated," says one report, "and the very hills of Jefferson were made to lift up their heads and rejoice." Meetings were held at which speeches were made by State Senators and others, and "John Brown" was sung, as the report states, amid immense applause.[1]

[1] *Annual Cyclopedia,* for 1864, p. 554.

General Smith's service did not extend beyond the first session of this Assembly. The financial difficulties which had sprung up about him as a result of the war seemed to be growing worse. His income was small, while his expenses were very heavy, the taxes alone on his property in Sedalia amounting to about $10,000 a year. Accordingly, when the post of Assistant United States Assessor was offered him, he thought it best to accept. As a result, a resolution vacating his seat was introduced into the Senate early in November, 1865; and on November 23 the resolution was passed, the Governor was asked to issue the writ for an election to the vacant seat, and a successor to General Smith in the office of president *pro tem.* of the Senate was soon chosen. With this act his legislative career definitely closed.

In reviewing General Smith's course in the trying period from 1861 to 1865, no more fitting summary can be found than that given in a letter from Governor Fletcher, bearing date May 25, 1892: "He was one of the substantial men of Central Missouri who gave his influence to the promotion of every cause that had a tendency to the development of the resources, and the upbuilding of every enterprise for the promotion of the higher and better destiny, of the State. When the war came he exhibited a patriotism that made us all honor and love him. In the dark hours when we were organizing our forces under General Lyon, he came to us earnest and helpful, and cheered us on and aided us in every way possible. When we drove Claib. Jackson out of the State, and saved Missouri from being chained to the car wheel of nullification, secession, and rebellion, he stood beside us a stalwart and fearless Unionist. And when the Convention chose another Governor, he stood beside him, and accepted the position of Adjutant-General of the State, and largely contributed to bring order and system out of the chaos which existed at the time. Later on his greatest service was in the Senate, when the closing scenes of the war came and the days of reconstruction were upon us; when we required cool and deliberate judgment, and the nerve that comes from a high intellectual comprehension of the condition of affairs and a firm resolve to dare and do right. . . His hatred of rebellion and disunion men and measures was intense, but his charity for his fellow man in distress and his kind and forgiving nature made him most merciful to a fallen foe; and we loved him not less for his goodness of heart than for his broad patriotism."

CHAPTER XIII

YEARS OF TRIUMPH, AND LIFE'S CLOSE

(1866—1879)

Radical resolutions, 1866—Removed from office by President Johnson—Settlement of an old financial difficulty—Arbitration of differences with D. W. Bouldin—Suit concerning title to Sedalia lands—Political feeling after the war—The negro boy and the Sunday-school—Dr. William Watson on the issue of the war—State politics, 1865-70 — General Smith's course — Liberal-Republican candidate for Congress, 1870—Candidate for the legislature, 1872—Mayor of Sedalia, 1864; alderman, 1874-75—Growth of Sedalia, 1861-79; its influence in Missouri—Last days and death of General Smith—Character and personality—His kindliness, coupled with vehemence of expression—His sense of humor—His religious views—His family life—His political character—Sedalia's tribute to his memory.

In the contest over reconstruction, which President Johnson provoked after Lincoln's assassination, General Smith as a Radical sided with Congress. He was an officeholder under Johnson, but he did not allow that fact to hamper the free expression of his opinions. Among his papers is preserved the draft of a series of resolutions adopted at a meeting in August or September, 1866, of which he was probably the presiding officer. It should be said, to understand the occasion, that the Constitution adopted by the Missouri Convention in 1865 contained such rigid qualifications for the suffrage that some 20,000 Southern sympathizers were disfranchised and deprived of civil rights; that the return of turbulent spirits to Missouri after the war led to the organization of several bands of marauders who continued the bushwhacking which had so distressed the State during war-times; and that the Convention at New Orleans, to which reference is made, was the reconvened Louisiana Convention of 1864, summoned to meet July 30, 1866. Its leaders, according to General Sheridan, the commander of that Department, were "political agitators and revolutionary men, and the action of the Convention was liable to produce breaches of the peace;" but the suppression of it by the mayor and police "with fire-arms, clubs, and knives" was "in a manner so unnecessary and atrocious as to compel [him] to say that it was murder." In these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that "political feeling never ran higher in Missouri," than in the campaign in the fall of 1866.[1] This intensity of feeling may easily be seen in the resolutions which follow:

Whereas, in the wisdom of God, traitors were permitted to crown the crime of treason with the infamy of assassination, whereby the defenders of liberty and humanity were deprived of their honored and trusted leader, and the enemies of Freedom and equal human rights were supplied in the person of

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[1] *Annual Cyclopedia*, for 1866, under "Louisiana" and "Missouri."

Andrew Johnson with a sympathizing friend and leader; and whereas, the fall of Abraham Lincoln and the elevation of Andrew Johnson to power have encouraged the spirit of treason and forced the people into a new contest to secure the great results of the late war; therefore,

Resolved, (1) That in the great Union party of the country, whose counsels safely guided the Nation through the late conflict of arms and who conquered the war power of the Rebellion, we recognize the party whose principles alone can be relied upon with safety in the reconstruction of the rebellious States.

Resolved, (2) That we cordially endorse the policy of Congress with reference to the restoration of the State Governments destroyed by the Rebellion; that we fully approve of the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States submitted for ratification to the people by the XXXIX Congress.

Resolved, (3) That we heartily approve the stand taken by our Representative (Colonel McClurg) in Congress in demanding equal justice for the colored soldier; that men who have proved true in camp, on picket, and on the field of battle will do to trust at the polls; that traitors have no right to vote while loyal citizens are excluded.

Resolved, (4) That the statesmanship of Andrew Johnson has again raised the rebel flag over the city of New Orleans; that "my policy" has engendered the demon fury which prompted pardoned traitors in Louisiana to the massacre of a "Convention whose members were conspicuous for their loyalty during the years of war," and that we endorse the sentiment of General Banks when he said, "Their blood shall be avenged, and in this as in all trials of good men the blood of the martyrs will be the sustenance of the church."

Resolved, (5) That we recognize in Governor Fletcher a true and tried standard-bearer, and endorse his late proclamation; that we pledge ourselves before high heaven to stand by the Constitution and laws of Missouri, and to stand by our own rights as Union men against traitors, Copperheads, and bushwhackers, whether under the lead of rebel or ex-Union officers.

Resolved, (6) That the widows and orphans of our Union defenders who fell in the war against the slaveholders' Rebellion have our warmest sympathies, and we hereby pledge to them our united assistance, and never while we live shall it be said they lacked a kindness we could do them.

Resolved, (7) That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Missouri Democrat* and Sedalia *Times,* with the request that loyal papers please copy.

Whatever part General Smith took in drawing up these resolutions, they certainly represent his views. He felt President Johnson's quarrel with Congress intensely; and he let no opportunity pass of denouncing what seemed to him the President's "traitorous" course. The result was not difficult to foresee. He was notified that he had been removed from his post as Assessor of Internal Revenue; and on September 30, 1866, he vacated the office, after having held it for a little over a year.

Shortly before this time General Smith's financial affairs were put on a safer footing. The judgment in favor of Fayette McMullen had hung over him during the years of the war; and when the machinery of the civil courts was set in operation again in 1864, levy was made upon his property and sale advertised in satisfaction of the judgment. It seemed as though he had exhausted his last resources in the attempt to pay the amount or procure delay; but on the day of sale, his friend and neighbor, Major William Gentry, arrived with a considerable sum of money, obtained from the sale of cattle at St. Louis. "Here is property," said the General to him, in explaining his plight, "that will bring over a hundred thousand dollars inside of six months, about to be sold to pay a comparatively small indebtedness." The whole amount, he explained, was only some $7,000, and he had already raised $2,500. Major Gentry advanced the balance, and the property was bid in, at the amount of the judgment and costs, in General Smith's name. Thus the results of the labor of the past ten years were saved; and for this neighborly kindness of Major Gentry, General Smith never ceased to be most grateful.

In 1867 a settlement was also reached in the tangled legal relations which had existed since the beginning of the war between General Smith and his partner in the Sedalia venture, Mr. D. W. Bouldin. In the interests of the parties, including those of the town itself, it was agreed to submit all differences to arbitration. General Smith chose as his representative Major William Gentry; Mr. Bouldin selected Mr. Reese Hughes, and these chose as the third Mr. Mentor Thomson. To this board the differences of the parties were submitted; and after the examination of a mass of papers, the arbitrators practically waived the attempt to strike a balance between conflicting claims, and decided that neither party owed the other anything. It was something, no doubt, to have the mass of claims and counter-claims cleared away; but General Smith always felt that justice was not rendered him in the matter.

In this connection mention should be made of a suit concerning the lands which General Smith bought in 1856 of the McVey heirs. A tract of a hundred and sixty-six acres in extent had been sold at private sale by Absolom McVey, as guardian and curator for his minor children, at a price considerably in excess of its appraised value; and upon this tract the city of Sedalia was laid out. In 1866, ten years after the purchase, when the lands in question had greatly increased in value, suit was brought, nominally on behalf of the McVey heirs, to set aside the sale. It was claimed that the report of the sale by Mr. McVey, as curator, had not been made to the proper term of the county court; that the appraisement was invalid for the reason that the appraisers' names were not appended to the certificate; and that the order of sale was void, as the county court had no authority to order a private sale.

Many lots in this tract had been sold by General Smith to other persons, and the holders of these found their titles threatened. Meetings were held to devise means of compromising the matter, but they were told that nearly $50,000 was demanded before quit-claim deeds would be granted. General Smith would listen to no suggestion of compromise, and fought the case from court to court. The matter was finally carried to the Supreme Court of Missouri, and an opinion was rendered in 1869, establishing the legality of the sale. The closing paragraph of the opinion, which was given by Judge Morgan, embodies the gist of the matter:

> The property was regularly appraised by the curator, and it sold for largely more than the appraised value; and the purchaser has long since paid the purchase money. That money went into the hands of the curator, and constituted, a portion of the funds of his ward. The curatorship is still open and unsettled, and the curator is competent to act. One party has got the money, and the other party is entitled to the lands. The parties have not changed their condition, and no other equitable rights have intervened. By carrying out the contract and approving the sale, equal justice is meted out to all. Whereupon, in my opinion, the judgment of the circuit court should be reversed, and that of the county court sustained.

This suit caused General Smith much expense and anxiety. Mr. McVey, from whom the land was purchased, was living at the time, but refused to be a party to the litigation. "I acted as I then thought and now think," he wrote in a controversy which subsequently arose in the public press, "for the best interests of my children. They are as dear to me as ——'s children are to him. General Smith paid me a fair price for the land; he acted honorably and fairly in that transaction, as he has in every one he has had with me, and I desire to do the same by him."

The bitter legacy of heartburnings and hatreds which civil war leaves, is one of its saddest features. The very intimacy of former intercourse lends intensity to the struggle, and its memory afterward keeps alive the old rancors. Peace is observed only in outward acts. The desire for revenge and retaliation lingers on. Actual hostilities cease; but neither party can forget nor immediately forgive the losses, pecuniary and personal, which it has suffered at the hands of its antagonist.

These considerations go far to explain the relations which subsisted during and after the war between General Smith and his fellow-townsmen of Southern sympathies. They held him responsible, in some sort, for the losses they had sustained and the humiliations that had been put upon them. He could only view them—as a class—as "abominable scoundrels," and "traitors." But the picture is not without its brighter side. When approached for alms by a discharged Confederate soldier, General Smith could upbraid the man, in his characteristic fashion, as "one of the abominable scoundrels who sought to break up the country, and who ought to be hanged;" but his practical goodness of heart would not permit him to let the man go without the aid he asked.

The following anecdote narrated by Mrs. Smith, while illustrating the tension of feeling at the time, shows also some marked features of General Smith's character:

In the little old church that first attested the faith of the Christian people after their removal from Georgetown, there was enacted in 1868 a scene that will illustrate, better than anything I can think of, the feeling that existed between the two political parties—of those, namely, who had been loyal and willing to stand by the Government, no matter to what sacrifice it led; and those who had thought only of their rights and the preservation of slavery.

Among the negroes who had been left on our hands when our slaves left us, was a little boy about eight years of age, whose mother had deserted him. This boy became the pet of our household. We kept him in "the house" with us and cared for him, washing and dressing him ourselves. We delighted to teach him; and as we knew the old familiar words of the Bible so well from our mother's constant teaching, it was easy for us to hear him read from its pages while we were at work. In this way he became very familiar with the simple stories of the Old Testament, and with the touching pathos of the teachings of Christ and his apostles. Our father talked much at the fireside on the subjects of religion and politics, in both of which he realized fully and equally his responsibility to his Creator; and the little fellow, impressed by the earnestness of his deliverances, often attracted our attention by repeating verbatim his words, with his gestures and vehemence. The "botheration" of our father, and "the abominable scoundrels who are breaking up our government," were amusing as they fell from the lips of the little Ethiopean; and when he would quote the wonderful and beautiful words of the Bible it was none the less interesting.

He was very bright, and my sister took especial delight in dressing him nicely, and taking him with her to the Sunday-School. In a little green velvet cap and jacket, with brass buttons shining no less than his bright eyes and teeth, he sat behind the door, just at the entrance, where he could listen to the singing. The superintendent, a man recently from Indiana, was of like sentiments with ourselves. He would permit the boy to take a little book every Sunday, and return it the next, but the prejudice against educating negroes was so great that soon an outcry arose. The people, both officers and scholars, tired of his attendance, talked of his expulsion, and the boys threw stones at him when school was over. At last our father, unwilling to stand this, appeared before the church and told them there was one thing he wanted to say, when they talked of putting that boy out of Sunday-School. He wanted them distinctly to understand that he was a part of his family, and that when that boy was put out, he and his family would go, too.

All this while an aunt of ours, who was strongly Southern in her feelings, was bringing a little negro girl to church with her as an attendant every Sunday; and this girl would go up to the stove and sit down with the white children to warm herself, and nothing was thought of it. But she was not a pupil; they were not educating her. It was this, it seemed, which made the one case endurable and the other objectionable.

It was natural that social and political intolerance should linger long after the war came to an end. It is refreshing to find pro-slavery men who frankly accepted the issue of the contest, and sought to make the best of matters. Such was Dr. Wilkins Watson, who (July 30, 1865) wrote General Smith:

> You were wiser than us all! In saying this I am free from any desire to flatter you. I but render a tribute to Truth, the deity at whose shrine none but fools are ashamed to worship. I accept the situation. I was a pro-slavery man decidedly, but no secessionist; and I never can forget or forego a certain "solemn obligation" to be a "quiet citizen" of the State, and faithful to the government that is over me, refusing to engage in plots and conspiracies. Government is a human necessity, and may and must bear lightly or heavily on the governed according as exigencies may require.
>
> The negroes are free! and the material element of discord removed, never to be replaced. How these populations are to get along together may be a difficult problem to solve. Of one thing I am convinced; and that is the agricultural labor necessary in the South will be as cheap, or cheaper, perhaps, than heretofore. Men like myself, raised in the South, are disposed to think it impossible to do without slaves! They are startled from their propriety by the suggestion. They must and will very soon surrender the fallacy, taught by an experience somewhat bitter, but salutary.

In the summer of 1868, General Smith took his elder daughter, Mrs. Smith, to the East for medical treatment. A few months before (February 20), his younger daughter, Sarah Elvira, had married an estimable gentleman, Mr. Henry S. Cotton, and to them he now wrote the following letter:

Washington, D. C., June 11, 1868.

My dear Children:

Heretofore I have relied on your sister to keep you advised of our whereabouts; now that I have left her, I must attend to that duty myself.

I reached here this evening from Philadelphia, where I spent two nights and a day with Mr. Clement and his family [relatives of the lad Spencer, who, in 1857, had run off with some of General Smith's slaves]. They were very kind and hospitable. It is pleasant to meet such generous, cordial hospitality. They have five children, two of them daughters. The oldest of the family is a daughter, who spent last year in Europe. Her father made her read me some of her letters home; they were equal, if, indeed, they did not surpass anything I have ever seen. She is highly educated, but—like all the ladies I have seen in this country—not handsome.

I shall leave for home next Monday; will stop a day in St. Louis, and if I have good luck will be at home Friday or Saturday following. Write to me at St. Louis, directing to the care of B. F. Hickman, Esq. Your sister thought she was improving. Farewell.

G. R. Smith.

From 1865 to 1870 the Republican party was in control of the State, largely by virtue of the disfranchising clauses in the Constitution of 1865. As disorder and war hatreds died down, an agitation arose for universal amnesty and the repeal of the "iron-clad" oath for voters, jurymen, ministers, lawyers, teachers, etc. The result was a division of the party into two opposing factions, the Radicals and the Liberals. The Democrats, because of disfranchisement, were in a hopeless minority at the polls; they thought it the part of wisdom, in the election of November, 1870, to refrain from nominations of their own, and to support the Liberal ticket. The combination was successful, B. Gratz Brown being elected Governor over Joseph W. McClurg, who was candidate for re-election on the Radical ticket. At the same time the disfranchising clauses of the Constitution were repealed by a majority of 111,000 votes,—the Liberal party having "declared unequivocally" in favor of repeal, and the Radicals, "concurring in the propriety" of the submission of the question to the people, having recognized "the right of any member of the party to vote his honest convictions." In spite of the enfranchisement of the negro by the Fifteenth Amendment, proclaimed in March of the same year, this put the control of the State completely into the hands of the Democratic party, a control which was cemented by a revision of the Constitution in 1875.

During these years General Smith took but little part in politics, as compared with his former activity. He was now getting along in years; and his business interests made constantly enlarged demands upon his attention. It was impossible, however, for him to lose his interest in political matters, or to refrain wholly from participation. Upon the incorporation of Sedalia in 1864, he was named in the charter as its first mayor, serving until the election in April, 1864. In 1868, his name was mentioned for the governorship. At this time he was still a thorough-going Radical. In national politics, in common with many Republicans of the day, he ascribed "the failure to kick Johnson out of the Presidency" on impeachment, to "the treachery of a few bought-up Senators;" and upon J. B. Henderson, Senator from Missouri, who was one of the five Republicans whose votes acquitted the President, he wished to see visited "the infamy he so richly deserves" for his independent course. "I have never had any faith in him," he wrote Mrs. Cotton, May 28, 1868, "and I hope no honest Radical will ever trust him again."

In 1870 General Smith joined the Liberal Republican movement; and after the withdrawal of Colonel E. S. King, of Jefferson City, he entered the contest with S. S. Burdett, the regular Republican nominee, for Congress. The latter was ranked as one of the best orators of the West, and General Smith began his canvass, as in 1858, only a few weeks before the election. He made an able campaign, but was defeated by a small majority, carrying his own county by 250 votes. Soon after this, he returned to the regular branch of the Republican party. In 1872 he was nominated as candidate for the legislature, but made little effort to secure an election, and was again defeated. In 1874, and in 1875, he was elected alderman of Sedalia, seeking the office with a view to exposing what he conceived to be frauds in the tax assessments. Except for this service, he may be considered to have retired from politics after the campaign of 1872. He was now upwards of sixty-eight years of age, and

GENERAL SMITH'S RESIDENCE IN SEDALIA DURING HIS LAST YEARS

from his first coming to Missouri, forty years before, had labored assiduously for liberal political principles and the material betterment of the community and section in which he lived. He had earned his release from the burdens of politics, and might well leave the struggle to younger men.

During these years General Smith had seen Sedalia grow and flourish until it approached the city of his dreams. The stagnation which attended the outburst of war lasted until the summer of 1862. Thenceforth, till peace was declared, the place was a military post, and in spite of occasional rebel raids a thriving business developed. The town became and remained, until about 1870, the depot for a considerable trade with the country lying to the west and southwest, in which hides, furs, pelts, and cattle were exchanged for the supplies needed in those regions, untouched as yet by railroads. At the close of the war, the population of Sedalia was only 1,000, and the little town bore every mark of its newness. By the date of General Smith's death, in 1879, it had developed into a city of nearly ten thousand inhabitants, with paved streets, gas and water works, an opera house, and three railroads, making it the distributing center for an extensive region. In this development he had borne his part, being active in the negotiations to bring the Lexington and St. Louis, and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroads to Sedalia. But in working now for the development of the community, he was not left to bear the burdens so nearly alone. The new settlers who had come to Sedalia since the war were largely of Northern lineage, and were possessed of greater energy and business capacity than the Georgetown settlers and the Heath creek aristocrats of former days. Younger men were ready to assume the labor of these undertakings and carry them through with efficiency and dispatch. Building on the foundations already laid, and working in many cases along lines already marked out, the result was the establishment, on Southern soil, of a town of a new type. Sedalia became an outpost of Northern business ideas and habits; and from it as from a center radiated an influence which materially aidèd the transition from a régime of slavery to one of free labor, and placed Western and Southwestern Missouri in the path of prosperity, intelligence, and happiness.

For some years before his death General Smith was troubled with a painful disease, but characteristically sought to keep all knowledge of his suffering from his family. Neglect caused the disease to grow worse, until finally it took a fatal turn. After an illness of sixteen days, it ended his life on July 11, 1879. Of these last days Mrs. Cotton gives the following account:

On the morning of the 25th of June I was awakened by my father's voice calling to me and saying: "I am going to Hughesville to-day." I sprang up and urged him to wait for his breakfast; he replied that he would get breakfast in Hughesville—that he had barely time to meet the train. So, bidding me good-by, he rushed out of the house with his accustomed vim.

The day wore on with its torrid heat. When the train was due at 11:00 p.m., the man brought him home. I was waiting and greeting him with: "How are you, Pa?" He replied, "I am sick; let me have a good drink of water, and I will go to bed." Thinking it a passing malady, we too went to bed. During the night he called up his "boy." I went into his room and urged him to have a doctor; he replied: "If I am not better at daybreak, I will send for Dr. Trader." The morning found him no better. The doctor came, and was surprised to find him so ill. Day after day we watched anxiously at his bedside, and day after day his strength failed; but so slowly did it go that we did not realize his condition. His sick-room was one where his friends loved to gather; he was so peaceful and cheerful we could not feel that his life was going.

On the 4th of July the doctors realized that his condition was very critical. That day he said to his nephew, Mr. Wilkerson: "I am fully aware of the situation;" but he did not want anything said to his children about it. So, day after day, in the full possession of his powers and faculties, he waited for death. He asked for no prayers, called for no attorneys; but like a child on its mother's bosom, he passed out beyond the bar into the fathomless ocean of eternity. Yet who can know what spirit-friends were around that bed of death—what tender tokens of love the Elder Brother gave that dying soul? Some little things there were that warrant these fancies; but they are too sacred—too sweet—to be here set down.

His life had been a benediction to his friends. He had been strength to the weak, and a power for good all the days of his three score and fifteen years. And at last, when he passed from this life, he went

> ". . . not like the quarry-slave at night,
> Scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed
> By an unfaltering trust, [approached his] grave
> Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

It remains to present some estimate of the character and personality of the man.

General Smith was of large mold in every way,—large and generous in heart, as well as of noble presence and physique. He was upwards of six feet in height, and from his broad chest proceeded a deep and resonant voice. His features were of the expressive sort that light up with laughter and joviality, or darken with wrath and denunciation. The underlying and never-failing trait of his character was kindliness. Despite his vehement denunciations of men and measures, his hatreds were all in the abstract. "He and I differed widely in politics," wrote a friend in 1889, "yet there was no man whom I approached more readily, and whose opinion was more cherished on any and all subjects than that of General Smith. . . . Although at times erratic in expression, he was at heart one of the best men I ever knew; having a heart, when rightly approached, as tender as a child's. Suffering in animal or man touched the very innermost feelings of his noble heart, and no one ever responded more cheerfully toward its relief. Those of us who knew him well knew that one of the prime characteristics of the man was that when he was the most intense in expression towards those who differed with him in political or religious sentiments, he could be the most easily reached, and his influence secured towards any relief asked for." "He had a forcible way of expressing himself," wrote Rev. John H. Miller, a ministerial friend, "especially when warmed with the excitement of debate or controversy, which would lead any one not acquainted with him to attribute to him feelings which he did not possess. When talking about the Civil War and the men who fought on the Confederate side, he has often been heard to say: 'If I had had my way every one of the abominable rascals would have been hung.' And yet, those who knew him best knew that his heart was so tender that he could not have been induced to do anything which would have given pain and suffering to a single human being. His heart was easily touched by the suffering of others. A poor woman with several children came into a public dining-room one evening near dusk. She had landed with her little ones from a train on the M. K. and T. R. R. near at hand, and wandered in, not knowing where to go. Her condition was one of pity indeed, if she told the truth. Without waiting to hear whether her story was true or not, he reached into his pocket and drew forth a bill of no small denomination, and pressing it into her hand, advised her to seek shelter for herself and children where they would be comfortable."

Stories similar to the above might be multiplied almost indefinitely. A well developed sense of humor, and love for a good story, were also traits of his character. Of these Mr. Miller writes:

> His mind was well stored with reminiscences and stories of the early times in Missouri, and by his manner and conversation he made himself a very pleasant companion. His appreciation of wit was keen, and he enjoyed a good story or a joke. The idiosyncrasies of some of the singular characters he had come in contact with amused him, and he delighted to speak of them to his intimate friends. I have often enjoyed a hearty laugh at his delineation of the church officer he once knew who was given to the habit of profane swearing, but who believed in paying his debts as he went along; and so, after every oath, would pause long enough to say "God forgive me," and then proceed to swear again, and again exclaim in an aside, like the actor on the stage, "God forgive me;" and so continue to swear and pray for forgiveness *ad finem.* He enjoyed relating this as a jocular hit at me; because, as he said, this particular offender was an officer in a church of my denomination.
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> He was especially fond of denouncing, in a good-natured way, the fact that there are so many denominations among christians, and used to declare there should be but one, and, of course, that one should be the church of which he was a member, the Christian church. More than once he has said: "Suppose that Paul, the apostle, should come here some Saturday night. He would stop at the Ives House all night. In the morning, as soon as he had had his breakfast, he would say to the clerk, "Where is the church?" The clerk would say,

"Which church?" Paul would reply, "Why the church where people go to worship God." The clerk would then say, "Well, there is the Methodist church." "The Methodist church?" Paul would say; "I never heard of the Methodist church when I was on the earth." "Then there is the Presbyterian," the clerk would say. "The Presbyterian? What is that?" Paul would ask. "And then there is the Baptist," the clerk would add. "Baptist? Baptist? I do not know anything about a Baptist church; never heard of one in my life," Paul would say. "Then there are the Episcopalian, the Catholic, and the Christian churches." "The Christian, did you say?" Paul would answer. "That is the church for me; I will go there."

From preceding chapters it will have been seen that General Smith was essentially a family man. "His memory of his wife," writes Mr. Miller, "was exceedingly beautiful. She had been dead some years before I knew him, but he always referred to her with a tender devotion that showed that when he thought of her he felt that he was standing on holy ground." The loyal attachment to his memory which his daughters have shown in the twenty-five years that have elapsed since his death, constitutes one of the most striking tributes to his worth and nobility as a man, and his affection as a father. The moderate fortune which he left them, they have tried to administer in his spirit of philanthropic usefulness, with zeal for the best interests of the city which he founded. Their private and public benefactions, equally with this biography, constitute so many tributes to his memory; and their recollections of him are sacred and tender.

> His nature [writes Mrs. Cotton] was ardent and loving, full of the altruism that leads a man to sacrifice himself for his fellow man; and with that spirit he filled every post of duty, both at home and abroad, in private and in public life. To my childhood's fancy he seemed a veritable Cid Campeador. Nothing daunted his indomitable spirit. My timid little mother dreaded the spirited horses which he delighted to drive; but he would say, "Shut your eyes, and I will carry you safely." This to my young ears was all assuring, and my eyes would close in peaceful serenity. He would laughingly boast that he could drive from Georgetown to Frankfort on "knitting needles." His riding horse at the time of his marriage was called Patrick Henry; mounted on him he thought he had the world in a sling. He always spoke with pride of being in the company detailed as an escort for the Marquis de Lafayette on his visit to Kentucky.
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> He was the incarnation of kindly and loving thoughts. His home was fragrant with the rich perfume of warm affections; for love filled his soul with its beauty and bloom, and shed its sweetness about him. His nature was full of sympathy and tenderness. Little children, who at first were awed by his stentorian voice, learned to love him and counted him a companion. They would ride with him, walk with him, play with him, and talk with him, in preference to other companions. A radiance of sunshine was about him. To each and all there fell from his lips some kindly greeting, whether in the street, at home, or among his servants. If sorrow came across his pathway, he was

ready with sympathetic words, or, if need be, some more tangible evidence of his interest.

The wife and children cherished by his great heart were happy; how could they be otherwise when his strong arm was drawn so closely and lovingly about them? In the days before the war, though we lived in a cabin, the luxuries of a palace were ours; for the big-hearted husband and father would return from his frequent business trips, laden like Santa Claus with surprises and delights for the wife and children at home. His pet names for us children were "father's child" and "father's woman;" and whenever his eyes fell on us there was a caress, a sweet word of affection, an overflowing of the full heart. Never were wife and children loved more tenderly than were we!

Finer still is the picture which the elder daughter draws of the infinite love and care of the father when, almost at a blow, there came the loss of her little boy, the disruption of her home, and ill-health, the prelude to forty years of invalidism.

Just after our return home in the fall of 1861, a darker cloud than ever before threw its pall about me; but my father's deep, divine love, without reproach, without vituperation for any one, went into the shadow with me, and I was safe. Even with my grief, eternally safe; and I thank the Maker of all beautiful things that I ever knew such a father.

Thereafter, my wonderfully tender and beautiful father watched me closely; and fearing that he saw decline in the face that I tried for his sake to keep cheerful, he came to me and said: "Wherever you want to go, or whatever you want to do, it shall be done." And he never permitted me, in the years

> that he lived, to go away from home, or to come back, alone. He took me to many physicians, in the East as well as the West, and tried hard to restore me to health; and through it all he watched over me as though I were a little child. Henceforth I was his charge. In all the beautiful nineteen years that followed, I never seemed for one moment a burden to him. Generous, grand, beautiful, he served me with a tenderness, chivalry, and devotion that was sweet and marvelously patient. Again I thank God for such a father, such a friend!

In politics as in private life General Smith was incapable of dissimulation; and it may be said that he was ever true to himself, his principles, and his friends. "You always knew exactly where to find him," wrote one who had known him from his Kentucky boyhood days.

> No man's political creed [wrote Judge Fagg] was more firmly fixed in his own mind or more conscientiously and faithfully adhered to than his. He was a strong partisan, it is true, but he was a partisan from principle, and not from mere feeling or prejudice. His conclusions were always intelligently reached, after the most patient and thorough investigation. He always had the courage of his convictions and the ability to defend them. He was a man, as I read him, of broad views and liberal spirit. . . . In public life he was always prompt and faithful in the discharge of his duties. With a becoming dignity in his deportment, he was nevertheless easy of approach and exceedingly kind and courteous to all with whom he came in contact. It is a great gratification to me to be able to number General George R. Smith among my personal

friends, and to know that he received such a large share of the confidence and respect of those who knew him best. I am especially glad to know that he lived to see so many of his hopes and anticipations in life fully gratified. He not only lived to see his pet scheme of the Missouri Pacific railroad finished to the western boundary of the State, but under its influence he saw literally the "desert bloom and blossom as the rose." He saw with feelings of proud satisfaction the spot upon which he had fixed his own domicile covered by a beautiful and prosperous city—his dearly loved city of Sedalia. He lived to see his country free from the horrors of war, and with a gentle smile of peace and prosperity resting upon every hill and valley. It has been the lot of few men in life to have reached the same measure of success and to have passed away with a more sincere regret of their friends and fellows.

The impression made by General Smith's personal appearance and bearing is indicated in the following statement (dated April 14, 1904) from Dr. Alexander Hamilton Laidlaw, of New York:

To be in the company of a hero is an inspiration. This fact I never felt so keenly as when I first met General George R. Smith. He had come to New York from Sedalia to place one of his daughters under my professional care. This was nearly forty years ago. I had seen many heroes before,—brave men, soldiers and civilians in plenty, who had made records of daring; but there was something in General Smith's personality that eclipsed them all, and this feeling was confirmed by many later interviews. A giant in stature, with a look of daring capable of dangerous work, and with the bearing of a man who had won in many hazardous fields of life, he exhibited in his appearance and manner all those qualities that "give the world assurance of a man." A few years before I met him, he had liberated his slaves. Democracy was on his side financially; Republicanism was on the side of his country. He was a fierce politician, but he was a greater patriot. His patriotism, at this time, not only diminished his fortune, but it endangered his life. In talking over this period of his life with him, I know of no words in history which so exactly express his decision, as the words of Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms: "Here I take my stand. I can do no otherwise, so help me God!"

As a closing tribute to his memory may be quoted the words in which Sedalia, the city of his pride and love, mourned his loss. In resolutions adopted July 14, 1879, the Common Council of the city declared: "General George R. Smith, . . . the founder of our beautiful city, . . . has been thoroughly identified with every material interest, and has been the promoter and active supporter of everything that has tended to build up and make prosperous and happy the people of Sedalia. He was the staunch friend and substantial helper of the poor and the distressed in every time of need; and while positive in his convictions and resolute and determined in advocating the right and defending against the wrong, yet his great heart of love went out in sympathy and deeds of kindness to the oppressed and needy, without regard to affiliations by blood, or party lines, religion, or otherwise. He has been an exceedingly active man, very aggressive in his nature, frequently called to fill important positions of public trust. Yet in his varied and extended relations with society as a private citizen he has won the good will and esteem of all; and in his capacity as a public man he has invariably redeemed the confidence reposed in him. At the end of a busy life of three-quarters of a century, he goes down to his grave with the escutcheon of his honor untarnished, and respected and loved by all who ever knew him."

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